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Halliday Jackson's Journal to the Seneca Indians, 1798-1800

Edited by

ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

(Pennsylvania Historical Reprints)

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HALLIDAY JACKSON'S JOURNAL TO THE SENECA INDIANS, 1798-1800

EDITED BY ANTHONY F. C. WALLACE

INTRODUCTION

THE national religion of the Iroquois Indians, who reside today as they did in pre-Columbian times in the state of New York and in Ontario, is centered in the *Gaiwiiio*—the “Good Word” of Handsome Lake, the Seneca prophet.* A body of the prophet’s utterances, the *Gaiwiiio*, has been passed down by word of mouth from 1799, when Handsome Lake announced his first visions, to the present, and now constitutes the Bible of this faith. One preacher’s version of this Code, which is still regularly recited (and requires four days for its recitation) was published by the New York State Museum in 1913: Arthur Parker’s *Code of Handsome Lake*.

The most important historical contribution made by Halliday Jackson’s “short history” is his account of the circumstances surrounding the early visions of Connudiu (Handsome Lake), and his separate rendering of the first three visions themselves. Jack-

*The best historical account of Handsome Lake and his religion is to be found in Merle H. Deardorff, “The Religion of Handsome Lake: Its Origin and Development” (Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 149, pp. 77-107; Washington, 1951).

No authentic portrait of Handsome Lake is known. In the Buffalo Historical Society, however, is a picture painted by James M. Stanley, “The Trial of Red Jacket,” in which a figure in a fur cap standing in the left background is believed by some to represent the Prophet of the Good Word. Of this picture our artist, Robert Gabor (Saotaoala), a member of Ray Fadden’s Akwesasne Mohawk Counsellor Organization, writes: “I don’t think that is a true representation of Handsome Lake. His teachings of understanding, tolerance, and forgiveness are certainly not depicted in the surly, sullen look shown in the Historical Society depiction of him. I am inclined to believe he resembled more the drawings of him that were executed by my good friend, Jesse Cornplanter.”



From a drawing by Robert Gabor

The Vision of Handsome Lake

son himself did not personally hear Handsome Lake announce the first two visions, but copied their text later from a manuscript in the hands of Cornplanter, Handsome Lake's half-brother. The prophet's original statement of these first two visions was committed to paper by Henry Simmons, Jackson's associate, who wrote the visions down in 1799 from Handsome Lake's own mouth or from the dictation of an interpreter. Jackson heard Handsome Lake report the third vision in an Indian council in 1800, and took down the interpreter's translation.

Halliday Jackson (1771-1835) was a Quaker of New Garden, Pennsylvania, near Philadelphia. He made the two-year "sojourn in the wilderness" (1798-1800) as a young man, and made notes while in the field, but the "short history" reproduced here was not written until some time after the event. Within a year of his return from the Allegheny country he married and left his father's house at New Garden, to settle in Darby. By his first wife, who died in 1830, he had no less than twelve children. His second wife, whom he married in 1833, at the age of sixty-two, was twenty-one years younger than he. They had one child who died in infancy. The second wife survived him and lived to 1874.

In 1830 in Philadelphia Jackson published two books: *Civilization of the Indian Natives* (an account of his and other Quaker missions to the New York Iroquois) and *Sketch of the Manners, Customs, Religion and Government of the Seneca Indians in 1800*. He continued throughout his life to take an interest in the Indian work of the Philadelphia meetings, and held various offices in Friends' organizations. In his later years he became an adherent of Elias Hicks and gained some notoriety as one of the Hicksites' star witnesses in a long court case over a disputed school fund in New Jersey.

Jackson's mission to the Allegheny Seneca from 1798 to 1800 was made in company with two other young Quakers, Joel Swayne and Henry Simmons. (On their way out to establish the mission they were accompanied by two older Friends, members of the Indian Committee of the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting: John Pierce and Joshua Sharpless.) Jackson and his associates represented the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, whose Indian Committee had been formed in 1795 for the purpose of helping the Six

Nations (Iroquois) Indians of New York State to improve their material and social condition, which at that time was very low. The once-powerful Iroquois had been defeated in war by Washington's armies, and now maintained a precarious existence, farming and hunting on their dwindling reservations, dispirited and demoralized. Strong drink was for many the last refuge. The Quaker missionary effort is unique, in the annals of the period, in aiming explicitly to help people in their daily lives rather than to save souls. Its closest counterpart is the Moravian mission work, which was however avowedly evangelistic as well as humanitarian.

Although the Quaker rationale thus was not an evangelical one, the three missionaries to the Senecas did consider their work to be the Lord's. This is reflected in the pseudo-Biblical style of Halliday Jackson's narrative, and in the pious reflections and exhortations with which it is so liberally padded. Jackson certainly viewed his sojourn in the wilderness as a great adventure, implicitly comparing himself with the prophets of old who carried word of the Lord amongst the heathen. Indeed, one might even say that there is a certain romanticism in his attitude, which a Quaker gentleman of the day could only express in the idiom of that Book which, unlike most of the contemporary literature, has always dealt with strong human emotions.

As we have already noted, the most significant historical contribution which Jackson makes is in his recording of the visions of Handsome Lake (or "Connudiu," to use Jackson's orthography for the Seneca title *Ganiodaio*) and of the circumstances surrounding them. For Jackson, Swayne, and Simmons (who also left some descriptions of the event) were observing the birth of a new religion: *Gaiwiiio*, the Good Word. The present document bears the same relation to the Handsome Lake Religion as would a newly-discovered eye-witness account of the Sermon on the Mount to Christianity. In Jackson's words we can here see *Gaiwiiio* in the moment of its conception, the nucleus about which later gathered the other visions and admonitions and historical traditions which form the remainder of the code as it is presently held.

Special acknowledgment must be made to several persons associated with the presentation of this document, particularly to

Miss Bertha Forsythe of West Chester, Penna., a descendant of Halliday Jackson, who deposited it with the Chester County Historical Society especially for its present use; to Mr. Bart Anderson of that society, who facilitated its inspection and photostatic reproduction; to Mr. Donald H. Kent and associates of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Harrisburg, Penna., who provided secretarial aid; to Mr. Merle H. Deardorff of Warren, Penna., and Mr. Charles Congdon of Salamanca, N. Y., who made available to the writer their great knowledge of both historical and ethnographic material concerning Handsome Lake and the religion which he founded; and to Dr. Paul A. W. Wallace, the editor of this journal, who first recognized the historical importance of Jackson's "Short History" and has encouraged and aided the writer in editing it.

A SHORT HISTORY OF MY SOJOURNING IN THE WILDERNESS

Forasmuch as there are a Certain people¹ whose Dwellings are in the Wilderness and scattered abroad in the Land of Columbia, that are called by the name of Indians, who in days of Old were in possession of the goodly parts of the Land, and did eat of the goodly Fruits thereof, and the Wild Deer of the Forrest were then in abundance, but by reason of many Wars and fightings are become poor and miserable and their dwellings in desert places; and forasmuch as this people shewed kindness unto Onas our forefather, and his Children when they were strangers in the land, and suffered them to sit down peaceably beside them and dealt honestly with them, and in due time the Children of Onas waxed rich and became a great people, and got many goodly possession[s] in the land; and in remembrance of the kindness of the Natives to Onas our forefather, and forasmuch as we now enjoy the Land whereon they once lived in ease & plenty our hearts were drawn in compassion towards them, and a certain contribution was made² throughout the Congregation of the Children of Onas, in order to minister to their necessities, and supply them with implements of Husbandry to till the land, that they might cease to pursue the wild Beasts of the forrest, and look for

¹ Halliday Jackson in the following paragraph is confusing the Delaware Indians with the Iroquois. It was the Delawares with whom the "Children of Onas" sat down (the Delawares were the aboriginal inhabitants of southeastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey). But the people whom Jackson visited were the Iroquois of New York State, who were politically and linguistically separate. By 1798 the Delawares had left eastern Pennsylvania and New Jersey and migrated westward.

² Beginning in 1795.

sustenance to their Fields, their Fruit Trees, & their Vineyards and have flocks and herds and swine in Abundance, and Corn in their houses, and bread without scarcity, and themselves become Clothed with Garments which their own fingers have made: And moreover it was desired³ by the Elders and Judges of the Congregation that some of the Children of Onas (such as it seemed good unto) should go and sojourn amongst them, in order to instruct them in building houses, and enclosing fields and taking care of their Flocks, and their Herds and shew them the works of the handyworkman and the cunning Artificer, and all manner of handy craft, that seeing they might believe, and believing they might come to enjoy the plentiful fruit of industry. And it came to pass as I mused on these things from day to day, that my heart was filled with compassion for the distressed situation of the inhabitants of the Wilderness, & I concluded within myself to go and sojourn for a time amongst them, and when this thing was told unto my kinsfolk, and in the Congregation of the people, they said unto me "go in peace"

Now there was certain other Brethren of the Tribe of Onas, Henry whose surname was Sinmon[s] and Joel whose Surname was Swayne, that purposed in their hearts to go and sojourn amongst this people; and it came to pass on a certain day that we assembled together in the Great City with the Judges of the Congregation, and our business was made known unto them and the sayings thereof was grateful in their Ears, and great was the Solemnity that prevailed among the Judges at the Season—

And moreover it was determined that we should go into the land of the west, and sojourn among the people of Corn-planter a Chief ruler of the Seneca nation—And certain Brethren were appointed to make provision for the Journey of all manner of implements necessary for carrying on the work, and a writing was writt concerning us and signed by the Congregation of the People—

And moreover it came to pass that after certain days that two of the Antients of the Congregation, even Joshua whose surname was Sharpless, & John, who surname was Pierce, concluded to accompany us on the Journey, because we were all young men, and in order that all things might be accomplished according to the design of the Congregation, and a certain day was appointed wherein we should set out on the Journey—

Now it came to pass in the 4th mo, on the nine and twentieth day of the month, on the first day of the week,⁴ that I bid adieu to my kinspeople and departed from the land of my nativity, and the next day Journeyed to the house of Abraham, whose surname was Gibbons, where I remained that night, and met with all the

³ In 1797.

⁴ 29 April, 1798.

Company that were to be my Companions in the Journey— Now this Abraham was a wise man and mighty in words and in deeds, and a Speaker in the Congregation of the people, and he spake many notable sayings unto us. And it came to pass as we Journeyed on the third day of the week that we came unto the River, even the great River Susquehannah, that cometh down from afar, out of the Mountains in the North, and runeth towards the great sea, and we lodged at the house of Wm. whose surname was Right. and when the morning was come we passed over the River, but got very wet by reason of the great rain.

And moreover we Journeyed for many days, & passed thro' divers Villages, and over the lofty mountains whose high towering Summits seem'd to mingle with the Clouds, and it came to pass on the first day of the Week as we passed over an exceeding high mountain that we lift up our eyes and beheld on the other side thereof a goodly land, and well favoured Countrey inhabited and beautifully intersperst with rivulets and Valleys, variegated with Green pastures, and fruit trees sending forth a sweet smelling savour. And after we were come down from the Mountain, we came to certain River called in the vernacular Tounge Yoixhegany, and a pleasant little Village was on this side the River and forasmuch as the day was far spent we put in for quarters at the house of Thomas whose Surname was Gibson, and him and his wife were some of the Antients of the Congregation of the Children of Onas, and they had a Daughter of a goodly Countenance and an exelent Spirrit was found in her.

Now When the morning was come we passed over the River and Journeyed the self same day to the house of Reece whose Surname was Cadwallider, and here we purposed encamping several days, in order to rest ourselves because of the long Journey; and to visit our brethren and kinspeople that dwelt in that goodly land; and as we passed up and down in the Land our kinspeople rejoiced to see us, & shewed us much kindness. And it came to pass on the fourth day of the week that we went with the household of Reece to the Congregation of the Children of Onas where the were assembled to gether to worship, and a marriage was accomplished in the Congregation and a writeing was read concerning it, and we put our names to the writeing— And when the Congregation departed every one his way we returned to the house of Reece and did eat Bread therein— Now this Reece was a goodly man of great reputation among the people, and he treated us kindly as also those of his household, and it came to pass after we had eaten Bread, that we arose and departed and passed over the River Monongahala at a beautifull little village call'd Browns Vill, and lodged at a certain inn on the road that Night

And when the morning was come, ere the Sun was rissen upon

the Earth, we arose and Journeyed on our way, and and lo about midday we came to the River again, even the River Monengahala, and passed over it, and entered into the City of Pittsburgh near where two Rivers Met. Now it was a time when the Judges and rulers of the people were assembled together in this place in order to do justice between man and man, and a great concourse of People were collected hither, and we abode at a Certain Inn in the City that night.

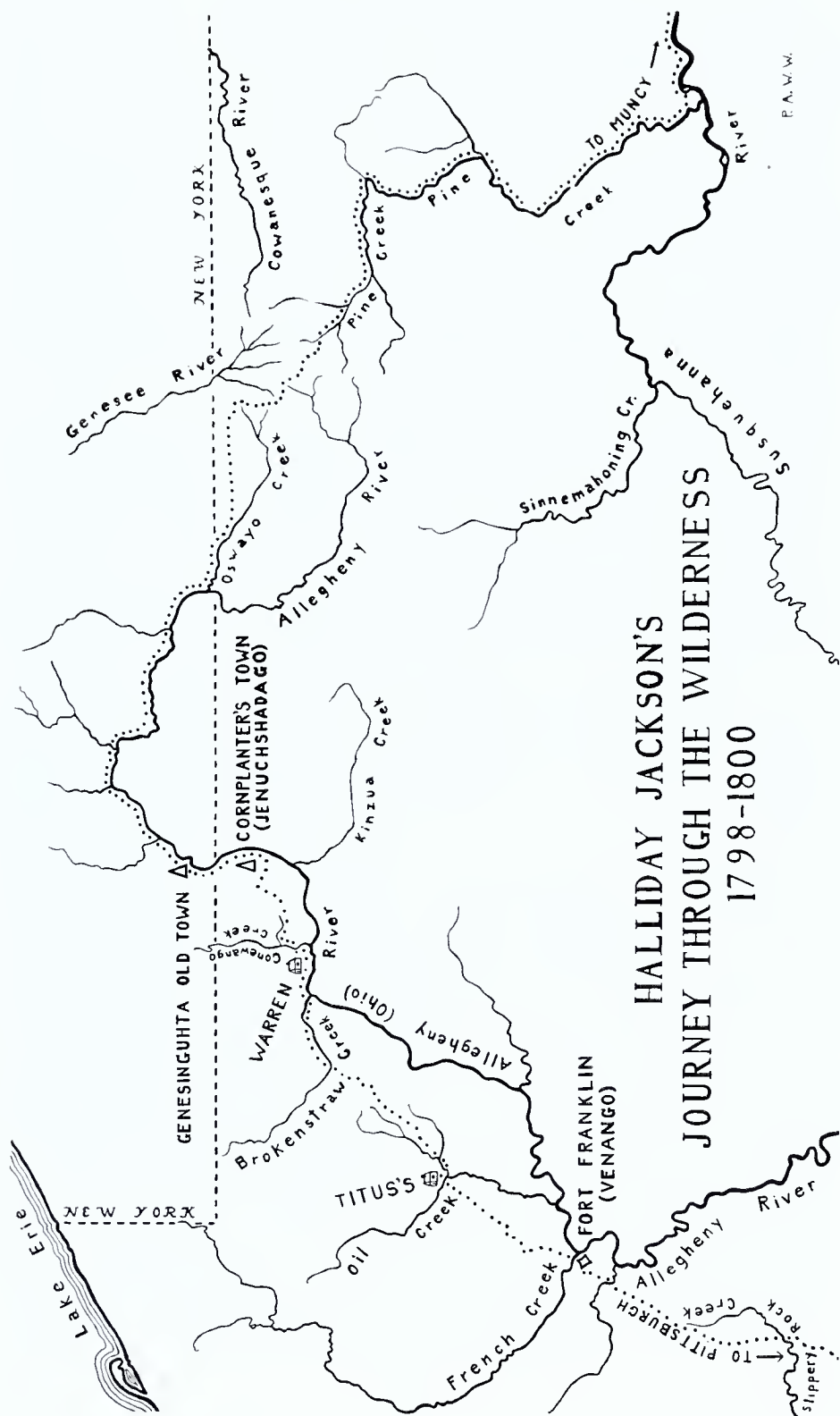
Forasmuch as our business required Agents in this place we were recommended by letters from Our Brethren in the Great City, to divers of the dwellers herein, who received us kindly and promised their Assistance in all things which we required, even James whose sirname was Wilkinson,⁵ the chief Commander of the [word "Troops" crossed out in MS] Host of the People of the Provinces, spake comfortable words unto us, and wished us a Prosperous Journey; and more over wrote a writeing unto the Judges and Rulers of the Natives of the Land whither we were going.

And it came to pass after two days that we departed from this place, and crossed the River on the north side of the City which is called in the [words "Vernacular Tounge Allegany but in the" crossed out in the MS] Seneca Tounge Oheyu,⁶ and we went from thence Northward, and Journeyed two days thro' a wilderness Countrey without many Inhabitants, an[d] lo on the Second day about the going down of the Sun, we came to a certain Fortification on the banks of the River, being threescore and eight miles, and we lodged in a Certain Inn that night— Howbeit on the morrow we did eat Bread in the Fortification, and the keeper thereof and his wife treated us kindly, and furnished us with provender for ourselves, and our horses, to carry with us, & a pilot to direct us on the way, because it was so ordered by James the Chief Commander in the City of Pittsburgh. Now this Fortification was a Strong hold for the inhabitants round about to fly too, for safety, when they became assaulted by the Natives of the Land, and the name thereof (in the Vernacular Tounge was, Fort Franklin, but) in the Seneca Tounge Eninggie, and it stood on a piece of ground near where two Rivers met.

And it came to pass about midday that we departed thence, and Journeyed thro' a woody Countrey and lo about the going down of the Sun we espied a house near a Brook in a fertile Valley (and we put in for quarters) and abode there that night and got plenty of milk without money or without Price— And when the morning

⁵ James Wilkinson (1757-1825) was in 1798 Commander-in-Chief of the United States Army. Wilkinson was a friend of Benedict Arnold and Aaron Burr, was implicated in a series of treasonable conspiracies, and was finally court-martialed (but acquitted) for the disgraceful conduct of the northern campaign in the War of 1812.

⁶ I.e., the Allegheny River, as it is now known.



HALLIDAY JACKSON'S JOURNEY THROUGH THE WILDERNESS 1798-1800

was come we Arose and departed, and, traveled along a path that had never been much trodden by the foot of man, thro a waste howling Wilderness even two days Journey, and lo it came to pass on the fifth day of the week that we arrived in the Indian Countrey, and went up to one of the villages of the natives of the Land, and the Inhabitants thereof came out and saluted us kindly, even Cornplanter the Chief⁷ rejoiced greatly to see us, because he had heard before time of our coming, and he took us into his house.

Now it was the fifth month on the 17 day of the month that we entered into the Village of Corn-planter, and it was nigh unto the River even the River Oheyu, and the name thereof in the Seneca Tounge was Je, nuch, sha, da go which being interpreted is Burnt house.⁸

Howbeit the people spake unto us in a strange Language and we understood them not—nevertheless Corn-planter had a son whose name was Henery,⁹ and he had been taught in the Learning of the White people in the Great City, and the words of his Father made he known unto us— And Corn-planter the Chief spake on this wise, and said unto us

“Brethren—I have heard of your coming for many days, and rejoice in my heart to see you this day, and am thankful to the Great Spirit for your safe arival and preservation on the way”

And we spake unto him by the Interpreter, and said, that we were the Children of Onas their Brother, come from a far Countrey to see them, and moreover we desired to have their people collected together that we might speak unto them of the things which we came about— And Corn-planter the Chief spake again unto us & said it should be so, & moreover he sent messengers the self same day, thro’ out all his Villages¹⁰ to carry the tideings

⁷ Cornplanter (c. 1740-1836), also known as *Gaiantwaka* and John Obeal, was the son of a Seneca woman and a Dutch trader from Albany, John Abeel. Although Cornplanter fought against the Americans during the Revolution, he took a pro-American position after the war. For this he was rewarded with land grants by the Pennsylvania legislature. The village of *Jenuchshadago* (see below) was located on land belonging to Cornplanter personally. Cornplanter was the half-brother of Handsome Lake (Connudiu).

⁸ The village stood on the flat west bank of the Allegany River, overlooked on both sides of the stream by steep hillsides. The village itself no longer remains, although a few Indian families descended from Cornplanter still retain farmsteads in the neighborhood. For an historical account of the village and the “Cornplanter grant” on which it was located, see Merle H. Deardorff, “The Cornplanter Grant in Warren County” (*Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine*, Vol. 24, No. 1, 1941).

⁹ Henry Obeal had been schooled by the Quakers in Philadelphia, and spoke some English.

¹⁰ Properly speaking, none of the Seneca villages were “ruled” by Cornplanter. His position was one of great influence along the Allegheny, however. “His villages” probably refers to the scattered Seneca settlements along the river as far up as the present town of Salamanca.

and have the people Collected together— And Cornplanter set before us food to eat such as was convenient, and brought in his wife, & his Sons, and his Daughters, and shewed them unto us— And as we walked in the Field nigh unto the Village, they Women laboured abundantly therein,¹¹ because it was about the time of planting their Corn and they rejoiced in their hearts, and were merry when they knew we were the Children of Onas come from a far Countrey to See them. And when the night was come we Slept in the house of Cornplanter, and rested comfortably, because we were weary of the exceeding long Journey.

Now it came to pass on the morrow about the eleventh hour of the day, that they blew the Trumpet and the People collected to the Council, the Chiefs and the warriors and the mighty [word "wise" written in above "mighty" in MS] men and the men of Valour, and they were curiously adorned in fine Apparrel, with breastplates and head bands & earrings, & nose Jewels, & bracelets, and round Tires like the moon, and with Skins of the Wild Beasts of the Forrest, & they prided themselves in the Bravery of their Tinkling Ornaments.

And they Assembled themselves together at the house of Cornplanter and sat down and mused a little in their own minds and Cornplanter the Chief arose and spake on behalf of the people and said unto us,

"Men And Brethren,

I was rejoiced in my heart when I saw you come out of the bushes Yeasterday and thankful to the Great Spirrit for preserving you on the way; You told us You had something to say unto us, & behold we are collected together to hear your words"—

Then John whose Sirname was Pierce stood up before the People, and spake unto them, concerning the things which we came about and the writeing was read which we brought with us from our Brethren in the Great City, & the interpretation thereof made known unto them and the sayings that was written therein pleased them, inasmuch as he told them of our intentions to Sojourn amongst them, & teach them to Plow to Sow, & to reap that they might eat the Goodly things of the land, and also to instruct them in the use of mechanical Instruments and how to take care of their Flocks and their Herds that they might have meat in abundance & bread without scarcity—

And moreover the writeing of James the Chief commander of the troops of the Provinces was read unto them, which was by way of recommendation, desireing them to Open their ears and listen to our Talk, & to open their Eyes and look on our works,

¹¹ In the aboriginal Seneca economy, the women were responsible for agriculture, the men for hunting.

that so their Old men their Wives and their Children might live in Security and come to enjoy the comforts of life—

And Corn-planter the Chief spake unto the people of the things that had been told them, and said they must meditate thereon, and reply to our Speech on the morrow.

And after these things we walked too and fro in the Village, and beheld their houses and their dwellings which were as tents of the Field¹² and when we looked thereon, our hearts were sorry and they stood in a Valley and the mountains were on the right hand and on the left.

Now it came to pass on the morrow in the evening of the day that they people returned again to the Council, the Chiefs and the warriors and the men of Valour, and Cornplanter the Chief Stood up before the people & spake unto us on this wise,

“Brethren, the Children of our Brother Onas, hear ye this day all the words which I spake unto you.

You know Brethren the Red people are poor they are not like the White People because the great Spirit has made them of another Language, so that it is hard for us to understand one another plainly, howbeit we have considered the things that you Spake unto us, and forasmuch as you have come from a far COUNTRY to see us, and desire that we should cease pursuing after the wild Beasts of the Forrest, and turn from the ways of our forefathers, to be tillers of Ground and keepers of flocks and of herds,¹³ whereon we may look for sustenance, some of our people who are men of Sobriety, are determined to follow your example, and do the things which you have told us of— But there are some among us will not hear your words, neither regard they your Counsel—

And moreover Brethren we cannot say a word against you, it is good for us to call the Children of Onas our Brothers, you never desired to take our Lands from us, neither have you coveted anything that is ours; but the people of the Earth, who are not the Children of Onas, have taken away our Lands, so that we have but very little left of all that our forefathers possessed, and be it moreover known unto you, that in days which are over and gone, a certain Man Named Robert whose Sirname is Morris

¹² The Biblical idiom is confusing here. The Iroquois did not make tents, but rather bark houses and (at this time) log cabins with bark roofs.

¹³ The Iroquois had been accustomed to raise corn, squash, and beans long before the whites came. The point of the Quaker recommendation was that the Iroquois *men* should now accept responsibility for agriculture. In the Indian scheme of things, this was woman's work (although men might help in planting and harvesting). Men considered their proper role to be that of the hunter, the warrior, and the councilor. Domestic animals, other than dogs, had not been kept in pre-Columbian days, but some pigs, cattle, and horses were in the village in 1798.

purchased our Countrey,¹⁴ and we fear he will not deal honestly with us, but if he deal honestly with us, we have yet sufficient inheritance remaining therein—

And furthermore Brethren, if you sojourn among us, we desire you to learn our Children to read, and write as you do, that they may become wise in their generation—

Now Brethren, two of you are going home again, if you hear any thing concerning the lot of our inheritance rema[in]ing in the land which we sold unto Robert, You must write unto the young men who Sojourn amongst us, and they must tell us of your words”—

And it came to pass after these sayings were ended, that Joshua and John opened their mouths and spake unto them saying “we are glad to hear the words of our Indian Brothers and the sayings thereof pleases us very well, & be it known unto you that these young men will stay among you, and do as it seemeth good unto them, and moreover abundance of implements of Husbandry are coming from the Great City in the land of the East which are for the use and Benefit of our Indian brethren even a present which the Children of Onas have sent unto you, in order to assist you in building houses and Tilling the Field.”

And they also spake unto them of the things that belong to their peace, and moreover told them we should want a piece of Ground to sit down upon, while we sojourned among them & desired of the Chiefs and rulers of the people liberty to look about their Countrey, and choose a place for the lot of our inheritance, and they Answered and said it should be so—Then wereall these sayings ended at that time and the people departed to their own dwellings—

Now the next day being the first day of the week we assembled together at the house of Cornplanter in order to worship, and Corn-planter the Chief met with us and worshiped,¹⁵ and and great was our peace at that Season—

And in the afternoon of the day I went out to the foot of a Mountain over against the Village and sat down alone under the Shadow of a great Tree, and mused of all things which I had

¹⁴ Robert Morris (1734-1806), the celebrated “financier of the American revolution,” had bought most of western New York from the Senecas in 1797. Certain “reservations” in the sale preserved particular tracts to the Indians, including forty-two square miles along the Allegheny just above Jenuch-shadago. But Morris was in financial difficulties in 1798—difficulties which eventually ended in bankruptcy and debtor’s prison from 1798 to 1801. The Holland Land Company acquired the Seneca lands through foreclosure on Morris. The Senecas were understandably worried about the situation and its implications for themselves.

¹⁵ Cornplanter was not a convert. His joining the Quakers in their worship was more an expression of courtesy and interest than an act of religious conviction. Many Senecas even today see no inconsistency in participation in both Indian and Christian services.

seen in a strange land, and of the manners and customs of the people, I was come to Sojourn among, and while I mused the fire burned untill my heart was like the Chariotts of Aminidab, "pay'd with love for the Daughters of Jerusalem."

And it came to pass on the morrow that we got into a small Vessle,¹⁶ with Cornplanter the Chief, and Henery the Interpreter, and passed up the River, even the River Oheyu, about the space of threescore and ten furlongs, and We put to Shore at an Antient Village, Called in the Seneca Toungue Geneshunguhta¹⁷ (which being interpreted is thro' the Hills) but we found many houses therein desolate, and without inhabitant nevertheless a few people remained in the Village who entreated us kindly and we entered into the house of one of the Natives whom we called John. And we walked two and fro in the Valley viewing the Countrey round about, and when we saw that it was a fruitful and goodly land, we said one unto another, "here let us choose for the lot of our inheritance amongst this People, and peradventure when the natives see us build again the waste places, and repair the breaches of their City, they will come and Settle down beside us and we shall dwell together as brethren in the Land." And forasmuch as we were all united in this matter, we spake unto Cornplanter the Chief and told him of the things which we had determined to do, and the sayings pleased him well and he answered & said unto us

"Men and brethren, the land is all before you Choose where you please, and ye shall have permission of the Chiefs and Rulers of the people to catch and kill of the wild beasts of the Forest & the Fish that Skim the Surface of the great Deep," and we returned on the waters of the River to the house of Cornplanter that evening.

Now while we remained in the house of Corn-planter the people shewed forth much kindness unto us, and our hearts were enlarged toward them, and the Women of the Village made a Certain contribution and gave unto us—

Howbeit after Certain days we departed thence and went again to Geneshunguhta, with our Horses and baggage and provender, and all that was ours, and behold we were yet without any habitation for we had purchased none inheritance in the Land—but forasmuch as we had permission of the Chiefs and rulers of the people, we went unto a certain house nigh unto the River Side and the Woman to whom it belonged with her daughter was Labouring in the Field. And forasmuch as the situation pleased

¹⁶ Jackson's insistence on using a Biblical vocabulary makes his observations difficult to understand. Presumably he means a canoe.

¹⁷ The village of Geneshunguhta (Oldtown), about nine miles above Jenuchshadago, was located on the Seneca national reservation, not on Cornplanter's personal grant.

us, we made an agreement with the woman, and purchased it for *twenty Pieces of Silver— And it came to pass the self same day that we entered therein even in the fifth month on the twenty third day of the month did we enter into the house which we bought of the Woman, and her name was kiandoxshan.

Now behold it was a Wilderness Countrey, and the Mountains were on the right hand and on the left, and we had abundantly to Labour, howbeit our Implements of Husbandry were not yet arrived from the Great City in the Land of the East.

And when the First day of the week was come we were gathered together into the One place, and worshipped, and our hearts were Comforted and great was our peace; and for as much as we had appointed to meet the Chiefs and rulers of the people (for Joshua and John desired to see them again before their departure) Certain of the Brethren went to the house of Cornplanter that evening in order to be ready on the morrow, howbeit I remained with Henery (whose Sirname was Simmons) at our own dwelling that night.

And it came to pass when the morrow was come, that we mounted our horses and rode to the Village of Cornplanter, and behold the people were collected together even a great Multitude, and some of the Antient women¹⁸ was amongst them.

And when we were all gathered into the one place Cornplanter the Chief arose and spake on behalf of the people and said unto us Men and Brethren

I am rejoiced to See You here this day and all in good health; my people are also well, and many of them are here to listen to your words, but some others are gone in pursuit of the Wild Beasts of the Forrest to procure something for themselves to eat. Brethren we are now ready to hear your words—

Now we had prepared a writeing and recorded therein the things which we determined to say unto them, and the writeing was read, and the interpretation thereof was made known unto they people; Nevertheless Joshua and John spake many notable sayings unto them, and reasoned with them concerning the things that belong to their peace, desireing them to remember our words and lock them up in their hearts, and moreover beseeched them to put away the Accursed thing from amongst them, even the great evil of Strong drink, for it was an abomination in the Land,¹⁹ and many

*20 dollars [Jackson's note in MS].

¹⁸ This suggests that the meeting was being taken very seriously by the Indian population. The "ancient women" of the community probably included the "clan mothers," who possess considerable influence in Iroquois communities.

¹⁹ While liquor was an addiction of many Indians at this time, and led to distressing social disorders, it should be pointed out that frontier whites also had a reputation for drunkenness.

other things did the testify unto them, which are not written in this book.

And after these sayings were ended the Chiefs & Rulers of the people went a part unto the house of Peter* and mused in their own minds of the things which we had Spoken unto them, and returned the self same day and Corn-planter the Chief stood up in the midst of the people and said unto us

Ye Children of Onas our Brethren, hearken ye this day unto my Speech.

You are come here to see us Brethren, you desire us to do well—you wish us to become as the white inhabitants of the Land—

We know you have come from a far countrey to see us, it is a great way to the Sea Side where our Forefathers²⁰ once lived in ease and plenty, but the White People have not dealt honestly with us, they have taken away our Lands, and drove us into the Wilderness, and now we have but little Land left, we are determined to try to learn your ways—

You know Brethren there are some bad people among us, and you know we have been deprived of the lot of our inheritance and that makes us bad and our minds uneasy, and then we pursue after the wild Beasts of the forrest to procure our liveing: if the White inhabitants of the land had dealt honestly with us, we should have been a very rich people, and had every thing in plenty, and then our minds would be easy & we could think upon the great Spirrit—

Moreover Brethren, we cant all go to work at Once, because of the scarcity of axes and Hoes and the implements necessary to assist us in tilling the Ground, and we are poor, we are not able to buy more."

And many other sayings did Cornplanter the Chief spake unto us, and when the were finished the people bid us adieu and departed and we returned to our Tent.

Now it came to pass in the fifth month on the last day of the month that the Vessel arived with our goods from the great City, and the sight thereof rejoiced us greatly because it brought us clotheing, and provender and implements of Husbandry in abundance, untill our dwelling was filled on every side— And forasmuch as the Vessel returned the self same day, I wrote letters to my kinspeople in the Land of my Nativity—of all things that happened me in my Journey through the Wilderness, and how we were

*A white Captive [Jackson's note in MS].

²⁰Cornplanter's Seneca forefathers are not known to have lived much farther east than he himself did, certainly not along the coast. The editorial "we" which he is using here embraces Indians of many tribes, particularly the coastal Algonkians including the Delawares. Cornplanter is speaking as an Indian, not just as the representative of the Seneca nation.

accepted by the Judges and Rulers of the Land whither we were come—

And now we began to be husbandmen and Vinedressers, and laboured abundantly in the field, and Joshua and John remained with us yet many days, and spake comfortable words unto us, and told us of the manner in which we should go in and out before this people.

Now it came to pass in the 6 month on the Seventh day of the month that Joshua and John departed for their own dwellings, and I wrote letters to my kinspeople in the land of my nativity—nevertheless they determined to go into the land of the North several days Journey, in order to visit the scattered Tribes of the Children of Onas that dwelt on the other side of the Great Water that cometh down from afar out of the North Countrey—²¹

And it came to pass after Joshua & John departed that we were left alone in a Strange land and the Heathen flocked about us, even the Chiefs and the Warriars, with their Wives and their little Ones, came from afar to see us, and shewed much kindness unto us, in bringing us the delicious fruit of the Earth, and meat of the Wild Beasts of the Forrest, and Fish which they Caught in the Waters of the River, and we gave them presents which were sent from the Great City and gained favour in their sight.

And after certain days Cornplanter the Chief and other chosen men of the people, went into the Countrey of the North, and as they traveled therein they met with Joshua and John returning towards their habitations after visiting their Brethren on the other side of the Great River.* And they wrote letters to us of their Welfare and how it fared with them from the time of their departure from us.

And it came to pass as we laboured in the work whereunto we were called that we obtained favour among the People and all eyes were upon us to behold the works which we done: And Cornplanter the Chief shewed us much kindness and gave unto us whatsoever we asked without money or without price, for he said unto us, “forasmuch as ye came not to trade in the Land but to do good unto us I will not receive a recompence at your hands.”

Now it was a time when many of the people who dwelt on the Great River, even the River Susquehannah (which is called in the Seneca Toungue Can way ne wy ne i) were moveing from their habitations and Journeying into the land of the West, and they passed by our habitation on the Waters of the River in great multitudes with their wives and their little Ones insomuch that on a certain day there came up to our dwelling from the River Side three score and ten Souls, and they asked us questions concerning

²¹ I.e., Lake Erie.

*Niagara [Jackson's note in MS].

our coming into this Land, and whether we had purchased a possession therein, of all which we answered them warily.²²

And moreover it came to pass in the 7 month on the ninth day of the month that we got into a small vessel, and went on the waters of the River to the Village of Cornplanter, to see how things prospered, and the people came out and saluted us kindly and rejoiced greatly to see us, and we did eat Bread in the house of Cornplanter And returned to our own dwelling toward the going down of the Sun—

And in these days the Heathen deserted their villages and went into the wilderness to pursue and to kill the wild beasts of the Forrest, which were in abundance in the Mountains round a bout, and returned after many days and had plenty of meat in their houses, and gave unto us to eat—

Now there was a certain man named George (whose Sirname was Hildebrand) dwelt by the river side about the Space of 20 furlongs from us, and he was about to Journey into the land of the East toward the Great City, And I wrote letters to my kinspeople and the household of my Father; and moreover we wrote to the judges of the Congregation in the Great City, of our welfare and how the work prospered whereunto we were Sent, and that we had obtained Favour in the Sight of the people and they shewed forth much kindness unto us. Now it was the Seventh month on the twenty ninth day of the month, that the writeing was sent to the Judges of the Congregation in the great City—

And the Heathen began to build Houses in these days, and forasmuch as we came from our own land, to shew them the works of the Handy workman, they requested our assistance and instruction therein.

And moreover it came to pass in those days that a Certain People came about us to survey the Land which the Natives had sold unto Robert (whose Sirname is Morris) and the brought stores of provinder from afar on the Waters of the River, and pitched their Tents nigh unto our dwelling, and remained many days.

And for as much as many of these people knew not the Children of Onas, they surmised in their own hearts, and did speak evil in the ears of the Heathen concerning us; howbeit they hearkened not, neither regarded their words, for their Confidence in us was very Great.

Now on the First day of the week a certain young man Named Benjamin (whose Sirname was Shaw) came unto our dwelling, and he was lost in the wilderness and rambled too and fro for many days, untill he was an hungred and his Body became Faint,

²² Some settlers from Pennsylvania bound for the west would go up the West Branch of the Susquehanna and its tributaries, portage a few miles across the height of land to the Allegheny, and then float down the Allegheny to the Ohio.

howbeit we had compassion on him and gave him to eat. And he told us his dwelling was in the East three score miles and upwards, and as he traveled to a certain place nigh unto Jerusalem,²³ he got bewildered in the woods and was 6 days and 6 nights in a waste howling Wilderness, untill at length he espied our habitation, and his heart was Glad—

And moreover he spake unto us of the things which he had seen in Jerusalem, and that a Certain woman named Gemima (whose surname was Wilkinson)²⁴ was a dweller therein—and that she did much mischief among the people, feigning herself to be a Goddess and a prophetess, and in the pride and vanity [word “wickedness” crossed out in MS] of her heart, said she could raise the Dead, & walk upon the waters, and do many mighty miracles— And she had certain Disciples which believed on her, as also many of the Inhabitants of Jerusalem, whom she had deceived with her enticing words, for she was eloquent & mighty in reasoning after the carnal will of Man— And Benjamin abode with us two days and departed to his own Countrey.

And moreover it came to pass in these days that the Heathen collected together at the Village of Cornplanter the Chief, and they were assembled from every quarter of the Land, in order to Worship and to offer a burnt offering according to the Custom of their forefathers for many generations; and they continued in the one place for many days, with feasting and music, and dancing and great shouts of Laughter, and on the last and great day of the feast, they Slew a Dog and kindled a fire and laid him thereon for a burnt offering and sacrifice for their Sins— And this is the custom of the people and the manner of their worship, tho’ with mine eyes I saw it not.²⁵

Now in the eighth month on the sixth day of the month there came unto our dwelling certain men out of the North countrey from near the Great Waters, even Joseph (whose surname was

²³ Jerusalem was the name of a white settlement founded about 1790 on the west shore of Seneca Lake, in the present Yates County, N. Y.; Jackson is not using Biblical symbolism here. “Jerusalem” was listed as a “town” in Ontario County with a population of 99 in the 1790 census, and still survives as the name of a township. Here the followers of Jemima Wilkinson (see below) established their headquarters.

²⁴ Jemima Wilkinson (1758-1819) achieved notoriety during the period 1776 to 1816 as one of the evangelists and reformers of the period. Claiming to be the Spirit of Life from God inhabiting the body of Jemima Wilkinson of Rhode Island, who (she said) died of the plague in 1776, she called herself the Publick Universal Friend, and directed a colony of several hundred settlers at New Jerusalem, on the shores of Seneca Lake.

²⁵ Jackson is describing the Green Corn, the Seneca religious festival celebrating the ripening of the corn at the end of summer, and one of the two major annual ceremonies (the other being the Midwinter in January or February).

Ellicott)²⁶ and Wm. (whose surname was Johnson)²⁷ and Jasper the Interpreter (whose surname was Parrish)²⁸ and also the Great Sachem and head ruler²⁹ of the Natives of the Land wherein we dwell, whose village [word "City" crossed out in MS] was in the North about three days Journey, and we spake unto him by Jasper the interpreter of the work which we came about, and of all that we desired to do amongst this people and the writing was read, which was sent from the congregation of the Children of Onas in the great City concerning us, and the sayings thereof pleased him well, and he wished us to prosper in the work, and accomplish the things where unto we were sent.

Now Joseph had business with Cornplanter the Chief and the rulers of the People concerning the lot of their inheritance that remained in the Land which they sold unto Thomas,³⁰ and it came to pass on the morrow that the Chiefs and the Rulers of the people were collected together, & Cornplanter Sent a messenger for us, and we all went with Joseph and those that were with him to the Council, and heard all the things that were spoken therein—

And moreover it came to pass in the ninth month on the 14th day of the month, that I received letters from my kinspeople in the land of my nativity, and from my Fathers house, the sayings whereof Greatly rejoiced me inasmuch as the told me of their welfare and of many things that happened from the time of my departure— And many were the sayings which were in the writings that were sent unto me which this book would not contain were the all to be written, nevertheless these are the words of one of the writings that came unto me at that Time.

"Forasmuch as it hath seemed good in thy sight (in days that are past and gone) to write unto us concerning thy Journey into a far Countrey; be it known unto thee that the sayings thereof rejoiced us greatly, inasmuch as the made known unto us that the Rivers of water over which thou hadst to pass, did not overwhelm thee, that thou encompassed Mountains in the Wilderness where Terribly roar the wild Beasts of the Forrest, often times affrighting the weary Traveler, and yet no evil suffered to come nigh thee: also that thou was well accepted by the Judges the

²⁶ Joseph Ellicott (1760-1826) was a surveyor and land agent influential in Western New York. He was employed by the Holland Land Company, and in 1803 laid out the City of Buffalo.

²⁷ William Johnson was a large landowner and early resident of Buffalo, and was very influential among the Indians of Buffalo Creek, having married, according to report, a niece of Farmer's Brother.

²⁸ Jasper Parrish was a familiar figure at councils between whites and Iroquois, serving as Indian agent and interpreter.

²⁹ This probably refers to Red Jacket, the influential Seneca chief.

³⁰ This refers to Thomas Morris, agent for his father, Robert Morris, to whom the Senecas had sold their Genesee lands by the Treaty of Big Tree, September, 1797.

Counselers and the mighty men of the land whither thou wentest—and finally that allowance was by them given thee to kill and eat of the Kid, of the goat and of the Fishes that Skim the Surface of the Great Deep without money or without Price.

Mayest thou go in and out wisely before them and do with a willing heart and a chearful mind that which seemeth meet for thee to do; and may thy Labours be Crowned with the increase of plenty, that it may Create a knew Spirrit in the hearts of thousands to lay their Shoulders to the work, and may Tens of thousands follow them, as they have followed thee and thy Brethren that sojourn with thee; so will ye have to rejoyce in the work of your hands, and Joy in the abundance of Genesinguhtas prosperities.

Then will it not be said before the days of many generations, that the Desart aboundeth with every goodly thing, and the Wilderness appeareth Beautifull as the Garden of Eden.

Now as Touching the things that have happened since the days of thy departure, and of the times, may it not be called a day of darkness and of gloominess, a day of Clouds and of thick darkness, for the pestilence that walketh in obscurity & destroyeth as at noon-day is within the City; and without that City much of what the Armies of Flies had left, hathe innumerable hosts of grasshoppers eaten, even the green pastures and herbage of the Field—”

Now inasmuch as these writings which were sent unto me, signified of the pestilence³¹ raging in the Great City, and of the judgments that were spreading abroad in the land of Columbia, it caused me to go heavily Along, and as I mused on these things, I said in my heart surely “affliction cometh not forth of the Dust, neither doth trouble spring out of the ground—” well may it be called a day of darkness and gloominess a day of clouds, and of thick Darkness, for many of the peoples hearts are waxed Gross, and their ears have become dull of hearing, and their Eyes they have closed, that the will not discern the Signs of the times, nor turn from pursuing the Evil immaginations of their hearts, untill they be awakened out of their Spiritual Slumbers, by a mighty hand and an outstretched Arm that speaketh by the voice of pestilence in the City, and causeth the chastiseing rod of affliction to pass through the Land—³²

And it came to pass after these things on the first day of the week that Cornplanter the Chief and his wife came unto our dwelling and did eat Bread therein, and Cornplanter the Chief sent out his warriors to pursue the wild beasts of the forrest, and they

³¹ I.e., the great epidemic of Yellow Fever in 1798 in Philadelphia.

³² The gloomy forebodings which Jackson expresses here were commonly held in America at this period, and are associated with the evangelical and revivalistic turn taken by American religions of the day. Particular manifestations were the great Revival in the West (1797-1805) and the rise of missionary activity.

caught Venison and gave us thereof in abundance to eat, and the friendship of the Heathen waxed stronger and stronger and we gained favour in their Sight—

Now we had dwelt hitherto in the house which we bought of the Woman, and forasmuch as it was like the houses of the heathen which are as tents of the Field, it was not convenient for the purpose of our household, and it came to pass in due time that we builded ourselves a greater and we entered therein with our goods and our provinder and did live comfortably in it.

And it was in the tenth month on the sixth day of the month that we entered into the house which we had builded, and lo! the Heathen flocked about us and beheld the work of our hands and admired the beauty of our dwelling, because it was greater than all the dwellings of Genesinguhta—

And moreover it came to pass in the same month that we received a letter from Thomas the Scribe (whose Sirname is Wistar) and he was one of the Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas, and he wrote unto us of the pestilence raging in the Great City, and how the inhabitants thereof were scattered abroad in the Countrey round about for safety, and of those that remained in their dwellings there died of the pestilence every day near three score [word "souls" crossed out in MS] people.

And moreover he wrote many notable sayings unto us concerning the work whereunto we were sent, desireing us to keep the word of patience, that we might be kept from the hour of temptation and experience the everlasting Arms to be underneath—

And in those days a certain man called Israel (whose sirname was Barret) came unto our dwelling on the waters of the River, and he was wounded in his foot which disabled him from Traveling and he abode with us many days— And forasmuch as the winter was approaching (for the Snow began to Fall) and his dwelling was in a far Countrey he desired to go forward on horseback, and I saddled an horse and set him thereon, and went before him to pilot him on the way— Now it was in the eleventh month on the ninth day of the month that Israel and me departed from Genesinguhta, and we lodged in the house of one of the rulers of the Heathen that night, and much Snow fell—and it came to pass on the morrow early in the morning that we arose and departed and traveled a days journey into the wilderness, and when the evening approached [word "that" crossed out in MS] there was no house nigh unto us, and we kindled a fire and did eat Bread, and lay down in a Great Valley, and the wild beasts of the Forrest did terribly roar in the mountains round about— And when the morning was come, we arose and journeyed from thence thro a waste howling wilderness, untill we came to a Certain river called in the Seneca Toungue A,da,gus,kia, and we passed over on



From a drawing by Jesse Cornplanter

Handsome Lake preaching at Tonawanda

the Other side of the River and lo in the twilight of the evening, we espied one of the Villages of the heathen, and entered into one of their houses, and abode that night— Now this Village was nigh unto the River side, and it was a goodly land, and fruitfull, and the Walnut and Sugar tree did grow therein in abundance—³³ And we journeyed from thence on the Morrow and encamped by the Side of the Great* Water that cometh down from a far out of the North Countrey, whereon the Merchants Ships do pass as the go to the uttermost part of the land.

And early in the morning before the Sun was risen upon the Earth we arose and Journeyed by the side of this mighty water and I lift up my eyes and looked and beheld on the other side of the Water a land inhabited by a people under the dominion of the Great king whose dwelling is on the other side of the mighty deep, and behold it was a goodly land and well favoured Countrey, and had many goodly dwellings therein.³⁴ And it came to pass about midday that we came unto a River called [words "in the vernacular Tounge Buffalo (but in the" crossed out] Seneca tongue Tus, ye*, o,) and we passed over the river and went into the village,³⁵ and remained that night.

Now when Israel found some of his people in this place he purposed remaining for a time, and when the morrow was come I arose and Journeyed again by the same way whither I wentest, and lo about the going down of the Sun I came unto the Village of the Heathens nigh unto the River Adaguskia, and I entered into the house of Jacob and Abode that Night—

Now this Jacob (whose name in the Seneca Tounge is Ka'uh ka) was one of the antients of the people and he spake unto me and said the days of his Pilgrimage were one hundred and twenty years and moreover he said unto me that his dwellings had been in different parts of the Earth, and that he had been in the Great City even when it was a little Town, and the number of his days were many and he had saw many wars and Fightings, and fought many Battles of the Warriors amidst confused noise, from the rising of the Sun till the going down thereof, untill many of the people fell down Slain, and then Villages were burnt with Fire and the remnant of those that escaped fled into the Wilderness: But now he rejoiced greatly to see a time of peace and hoped the Sons of Men would no more destroy one another with the Sword, or with Weapons of War—

³³ Jackson is probably referring to the Cattaraugus reservation on Cattaraugus Creek, which lay on the trail to Buffalo.

*Lake Erie [Jackson's note in MS].

³⁴ Jackson is referring to Canada as seen across the eastern end of Lake Erie.

*Buffalo Creek [Jackson's note in MS].

³⁵ The white settlement at Buffalo, probably.

And furthermore he said his wifes name was Elemausa and the number of her days were fourscore years and upwards: yet she laboured in the Field, and brought in Corn in abundance untill their houses were filled on every side— And as I communed with Ka,uh,ka, and Elemausa, they brought to my remembrance good old Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, with their Wives and their Children as it is recorded in the Book of Moses, and I blessed them in my heart, and gave gifts unto them, and arose in the morning while it was yet Dark and departed—

And it came to pass as I Journeyed on the way, that I got benighted in the Wilderness even a days Journey from any Inhabitants of the land and behold it was dark, and I was without fire by reason of the Snow and the great rain, and I lay me down to Sleep on a certain place in the midst of the wood, and the wild beasts of the forrest did Terribly roar in the Mountains round about for lo it was a waste howling wilderness—

But as I mused fear departed from me, & I said within myself surely no evil will befall me in this place, untill at length mine eyes were heavy with Sleep, and I dreamed I was at home in my native Land—

Now as soon as the morning appeared I arose and Journeyed from thence over the Mountains the Hills and the Valleys, along crooked and Solitary paths, and one of the Natives of the land found me wandering in the Wood, and gave me Venison to eat, and lo about the going down of the Sun, I reached my habitation at the place of my sojourning in the land of the West, with great Joy and thankfulness of heart—

Now it came to pass while I was traveling in the North that Cornplanter the Chief called the people together and speak unto Henery and Joel concerning the little ones which he desired should be taught in the learning of the children of Onas, and moreover Henery determined to go and Sojourn at the Village of Cornplanter and teach all the children [words "little ones" crossed out in MS] that should come to him for instruction, and it was in the eleventh month on the twenty third day of the month, that Henery Opened the Books and expounded the things that were written therein—

And in those days the Heathen pursued after the Wild Beasts of the Forrest and slew thereof a great multitude, untill their Tents were filled on every side—

And moreover it came to pass in those days that the Daughter of Corn-planter lay upon her bed sick, and she died, and great lamentation was over her in the house of Corn-planter for many Days— And this is the manner in which the mourn over their dead— When a woman dieth, if she die either in the house or out in the Field, it cometh to pass that her kindred and people gather together and mourn over her, and carry with them the best fruits of the Earth, to the house where the dead layeth and holdeth a great

Feast and maketh lamentation for many Days— And in like manner do the mourn over the Men [word "Son" crossed out in MS] also—

1799

Now the Newyear being come in the first month on the twenty third day of the month it came to pass that we wrote a letter to the Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas in the great City of our welfare and how the work prospered, and of all things that seemed meet unto us—

Now it was a time of much rain and the Fountains of the Deep were broken up, and, the Floods came down from a far and the waters overflowed the banks of the River, and surrounded our dwelling, untill we were on an Island.

But after many days the Floods Abated and the Waters returned to the River and ran dow toward the great Sea; Nevertheless as sailing was yet dangerous I went by the way of the Mountain to the Village of Cornplanter in order to See Henery my fellow traveler and hear how the School prospered, and behold it was the Seventh day of the feast, for the day of Pentecost was fully come and the people were assembled together from every quarter of the Land to worship and to offer their yearly sacrifice, according to the Custom of their forefathers; and ere I came nigh unto the Village mine ears were saluted with the sound of Music, & dancing and Great Laughter for this is the Custom of the Heathen and the manner of their worship—³⁶

And more over the set up an image of wood in the form and Similitude of a Man, and put thereon the Skins of wild beasts of the Forrest, and Feathers of the Fowls of the Air, and Handkerchiefs and fine ribbons of varigated colours.— And the people were adorned in fine apparel even with Silk and purple and fine linen, and Breast plates, and earrings and Nose Jewels and Bracelets, and round tires like the moon; and with head bands and Silver Pins and the Ornaments of the legs & a girdle about their Loins curiously interwoven with various Colours. And moreover it came to pass on the Seventh Day of the Feast that they Slew a dog and hung him on the image which they had set up, and put a String of Beads about his neck, and adorned him with Ribbons and fine apparel, and looked thereon and worshiped, and it came to pass afterwards, that they kindled a fire and laid him thereon for a sacrifice and burnt offering for their Sins. And moreover did they burn incense upon their Altar, and the smoak

³⁶ The Seneca New Year, which falls in January or February, was celebrated by the second of the major religious festivals, the so-called Mid-winter ceremony.

thereof went upwards, and the Minister of the Tabernacle Spake in the ears of the People in order to consecrate the offering—

And when these things were accomplished they danced exceedingly, both men and women, small & great, and they prided themselves in the bravery of their Tinking Arnaments, and the noise of the danceing and musick and great shouts of Laughter, made both the ears of those that heard to tingle—

And when the day of pentecost was ended the people returned to their own dwellings: but my heart was sorrowful because of the customs and traditions of the Heathen, for as I mused on these things I said in my heart “surely it availeth nothing your danceing and Musick and Burnt offerings—your appointed Feasts and your sacrifices, the most High will not accept as an attonement for your Sins—

And I abode two days in the Village of Corn-planter and wrote letters to my kinspeople in the Land of the East, and returned again to my own dwelling—

Now it came to pass that certain letters came unto us from near the Great City and the Sayings thereof were sorrowful, and caused us to mourn and weep inasmuch as the made known unto us that many of the people were slain by the pestilence, and of the Valiants of Israel were fallen not a few— Even Warner (whose Sirname was Mifflin) that lived in the South Countrey, who was mighty in words and in Deeds, and excelled in knowledge and understanding; and James (whose sirname was Emlen) a perfect and upright Man, was Dead. Now Warner and James were two of the Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas. And Abraham (whose Sirname was Gibbins), and Mary the Widow (whose sirname was sharpless) and Hannah the wife of Jacob (whose sirname was Lindley) was also dead. Now these were Speakers in the Congregation of the Children of Onas and greatly beloved among the people, and forasmuch as Hannah the wife of Jacob was my kins woman my heart was sorrowful for many days. And it came to pass again in the third month on the first day of the month that we received letters again from the Great City, even from Thomas the Scribe, and from Joshua (whose sirname was Sharpless) and the sayings thereof greatly rejoiced us inasmuch as they made known unto us that the Pestilence was stayed in the City, and that health smiled again upon the land.

Nevertheless there died of the Pestilence in the Great City three thousand and five hundred Souls, and many were Slain in the Villages round about, even of the Valliants of Israel were fallen not a few— And moreover Thomas and Joshua wrote many notable sayings unto us, like the good Scribe out of the treasury of their hearts things both knew and Old, whereby we were greatly comforted—

Now while the Winter lasted we staid at home in our dwelling

because of the Cold and the great Snows, but it came to pass when the Spring drew nigh that the Snows ran down from the Gaps of the Mountains, and the Fountains of the Deep were Broken up and the waters came down from afar, and the Floods surrounded our dwelling for many days; and in those days we wrote letters to our kinspeople and Brethren in the land of the East, of our welfare and how the work prospered, and of all things whatsoever seemed good unto us to write—

And moreover it came to pass in those days that the Inhabitants of Audauguskia assembled themselves together, the Chiefs and the Conusellers & the mighty Men, and they wrote a petition unto us. Now the Inhabitants of Audauguskia were a tribe of the same Nation of the people of the land wherein we dwell, and forasmuch as they had heard of the works which we had done in Genesinguhta, and of our kindness to their Brethren, they desired of us that some of the Children of Onas might go and sojourn amongst them, and shew unto them the works of the handy workman, and the use of Mechanical Instruments, and teach them to plow and to sow and the manner of tilling the Ground—and therefore did they write a petition unto us, of that which they desired of us, and the writing we sent to they Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas in the Great City—

And it came to pass in the fourth month on the eight and twentieth day of the month that I received letters from my kinspeople of the household of my Father and also from Isaac (whose surname was Coates) and he was one of the Judges of the Congregation— And moreover the Judges of the Congregation wrote unto us and counseled us wisely in the work where unto we were sent, and many exelent sayings were wrote unto us which are not recorded in this Book—

And in these days the Heathen went out and Traded with the inhabitants of the Land and commit evil in buying of the accursed thing (even strong drink) and brought it into their Villages and hid it in their Tents, and many of them was drunken there with— And after Certain days we spake unto Cornplanter the Chief and called the Counsellors and rulers of the people together concerning this matter— And it came to pass in the fifth month on the fifth-teenth day of the month that we opened our mouths, and spake unto them concerning the Great evil of Strong drink and of the many abominations it wrought in the Earth— And moreover we spake unto them of the work which we came about, to turn them from the ways of their forefathers, to wisely cultivating the Earth, and keeping of flocks and of herds & of swine, that they might have meat in their houses and bread without scarcity—and great silence was among the people at that Season, and they said they would meditate on the things which we had told them but they answered us not at that time.

Howbeit it came to pass afterwards that the Chiefs and Counsellors of the People collected together and spake unto us, of all the things which we had told them did they answer that day, and said our words were just and true, and they could discern no fault in us but contrariwise the evil that was committed was all on their own side, and therefore they were determined to take our advice, and try to amend their ways, and put away the accused thing from among them, even the great evil of Strong Drink—

And after these things I received letters again from the household of my Father and the tidings thereof were sorrowful, inasmuch as they made known unto me the death of my Sisters Husband, and that she was a Widow and Desolate, and had many Fatherless Children that were young in Years— And these things did cause me to go heavily along, and look toward the land of my Nativity, and pity the Fatherless and the Widow if peradventure my being among them might give them a little comfort—

And now “the winter was past, the storms were over and gone, the flowers appeared on the Earth, & the time of the Singing of Birds was come,” we went out and laboured abundantly in the Field, and became husbandmen and Vinedressers, and the works of our hands did prosper, and brought forth fruits of increase— And the Heathen round about us began to labour in these days and enclose fields, like unto us for they desired to become husbandmen—

And it came to pass in those days that a certain woman of the Heathen dwelt in the Village of Corn planter whom they suspected to have a familiar Spirit, because they say she had done much mischief by Pison and by Witchcraft. And there was enmity between her and the house of Corn-planter the Chief, and [about seven words crossed out] there was a young Child in his house, and the woman of a familiar Spirit threatened to Slay the Young Child [about five words crossed out] and when a messenger came and told these things in the ears of Corn-planter the Chief, his Indignation was raised against the woman, and he commanded his sons, and while she was labouring in the Field they rose up against her and smote [word “slew” crossed out] her that she died, and they digged a hole in the Earth and put her therein for there was no mourning over her. Now when this thing was noised abroad there was no small stir amongst the People and it came to pass the self same day that the Chiefs and counsellors of the people assembled together concerning this matter, and when they reasoned together they said one unto another that Justice had been done to the Woman because she was found worthy of Death, and in order to do away evil from among the people and put away those of Familiar Spirits out of the Land.

Now in these days I sojourned alone at Genesinguhtha (for Joel whose Surname is Swayne was exercis'd at the village of Corn-

planter)³⁷ and when certain messengers came and told me of the Woman that was slain, & that the Sons of Corn-planter had rose up against her and slew her in the sight of the people, my spirit was troubled because of the wickedness of the heathen, untill I made further inquiry concerning the matter—

And after these things we received letters from the Judges of the Congregation in the Great City and forasmuch as we heard of the things which were sent unto us that come by Waggon over the lofty mountains and were brought on the waters of the River to a certain* Fortification about fourscore and ten miles from us, I gathered together divers of the people and embarked on the waters of the River in order to transport them to our dwelling— Now it was in the sixth month on the seventeenth day of the month that we sailed, and on the evening of the second day we put to shore at the Fortification and encamped at the Riverside— Howbeit I went into the Fortification and the Keeper thereof treated me kindly and gave me to eat, and I remained there that Night— Now there was a Marriage nigh unto the Fortification and the Keeper there of & his wife went to the Marriage and their hearts were merry with wine, because the Governor of the feast gave them plentifully to drink—

And when the morrow was come I went out into the village to buy bread for myself and those that were with me and we loaded our Vessels and sailed in the Afternoon of the Day— Now there was 12 of us in company and four Vessels, and when night was come we put to shore and pitched our tent by the river side, for it was a wilderness Countrey thro' which we passed, and the Mountains were on the right hand and on the left—

And in the morning we Departed from thence and after many days arrived at Genesinguhtha, with our Vessels and the Laden thereof, & I was greatly rejoiced because I was weary of the Long Journey—

Now it came to pass in these days that one of the Heathen³⁸ (the Brother of Corn-planter the Chief[]) lay upon his bed sick and behold he was in a trance for nearly the space of an hour, and when his Spirits revived again he spake of the many things which he had seen and heard, and that he had seen three Men with green Branches in their hands which bear different kinds of fruit, who told him if he eat thereof he need not be afraid to die— And moreover it came to pass the second time that he lay upon his bed sick and he fell again into a trance from the seventh untill the third hour of the day, and was at it were caught up into Heaven, and saw wonderful things which are not meet to be

³⁷ Henry Simmons, Jr., was also at Jenuchshadago, teaching in the school there.

*Fort Franklin [Jackson's note in MS].

³⁸ Handsome Lake (or "Connudiu" in Jackson's orthography).

uttered— Howbeit he saith, he talked with Men like Angels, who spoke unto him of things that should come to pass hereafter, and saw the Spirrits of some that were dead even the Daughter of Cornplanter the Chief who died in the Last winter, and she spake unto him concerning her kinspeople that were in the world, and moreover it was told him that he should return to the world again, and remain untill one half of the hairs on his head were turned Gray— Now his arms and his legs were cold to his elbows and his knees, but when his spirrits revived in the afternoon of the day, he opened his mouth and spake these things in the ears of those that were about him, and they people collected together to worship when they heard these things, and they danced exceedingly, and morover they slew a white Dog and did eat the meat thereof but the Skin [word “did” crossed out in MS] they Burnt with Fire—

And after these things (when the Ears were well grown upon the stalks of Corn) the people collected together to keep the yearly passover and to worship according to the custom of their forefathers, and when they were gathered into the one place, Cornplanter the Chief spake unto the people all the words of the Vision, and the prophecy, which his Brother declared unto him, and some of the people believed therein, but many believed not—

And the Heathen continued many days at the Village of Cornplanter, eating & drinking and rising up to play, with dancing and musick and great shouts of Laughter, and adorning themselves with shining apparel and abundance of Tinkling ornaments, and when those days were accomplished, they departed every one to their own dwelling—

And moreover there are many strange customs amongst this people and their ways are different from our ways, for when it seemeth good unto them to Marry, they do not according to the [three words crossed out] law of Moses that a Man shall forsake his Father and his Mother and cleave unto his wife, but contrariwise do they perform their Marriages, for behold the Woman cleaveth to her husband and goeth straitway to his house [words “and layeth herself down in his bed” crossed out in MS] and this is the token of Marriage and the manner in which they are espoused—And it cometh to pass afterwards that the Woman laboureth in the Field and bringeth in Corn and the produce of the Earth, and the man goeth too and fro in the wilderness devouring the wild beasts of the Forrest, and the Fowls of the Air, and cometh home after many days, heavy laden with Savory meat to his Spouse, and his little ones—

And albeit when after they are espoused if the cannot agree to abide together in one house, or if the love not one another, they part assunder, and if so be that they have any little ones, they



The Trial of Red Jacket. Painting by John Mix Stanley. The figure with arms folded at the extreme left is said to be Handsome Lake. The artist, however, did not draw from life. Courtesy, Buffalo Historical Society.

belong to the woman because she bear them, and if it seemeth good unto them each cleaveth unto another spouse—

Now it came to pass in the Ninth month on the twelveth day of the Month, that certain of our Brethren came from afar to see us—even from the Great City in the Land of the east and they were some of the Judges of the congregation of the Children of Onas, and their names were Joshua (whose sirname was Sharpless) and Isaac (whose sirname was Coates, and Thomas (whose Sirname was Stewardson, & James whose sirname was Cooper and Hugh the son of Richard, whose Sirname was Hartshorn was also among them, and we received them with Joy and Gladness of heart, like unto that which Joseph did when the Children of Israel went down into Egypt—

And moreover they brought letters from my kinspeople in the land of my Nativity, and the sayings thereof greatly rejoiced me, inasmuch as they told me of their welfare and of the times, and the Seasons, and of all things that seemed good unto them, to write and many excelent sayings were written unto me at this time, and my heart was comforted for many days—

Now these our Brethren sojourned with us many days, and called the Chiefs and Rulers, & Counsellors of the Heathen together, and Spake many Notable sayings unto them, and the people rejoiced greatly to see the Children of Onas Speaking before them—And Corn-planter the Chief did testify unto our Brethren of the works which we had done in their Land and that we were faithful and true, and in all things which we had done amongst them they had not ought against us—

And we were greatly comforted while our brethren abode with us for in these days we laboured not, but continued Speaking unto them, of all things that we had seen in a Strange Land, and of the customs and traditions of the Heathen, and the work that was appointed for us to do.—

And forasmuch as Joshua and Isaac, & Thomas & James purposed in their Hearts to go several days Journey into the North countrey, and visit the scattered Tribes of the Children of Onas that dwells on other side of the Great Water that cometh down from the North, it was determined that I should accompany them because of the difficulty of the way—

And it came to pass on the Seventeenth day of the Month that our Brethren was about to depart, and they spake many Notable sayings unto us concerning the work where unto we were called, and about midday we set forward and encamped by the River Side about foursquare furlongs from our dwelling, and it was nigh unto the house of one of the rulers of the people—

Now When the morning was come, we arose and departed, and one of the Heathens went before us to direct us on the way, and we journeyed thro' a waste howling Wilderness and there was

a great rain. Now when the evening was come we were on the top of a mountain, and we kindled a fire and pitched our tent beside it, and remained that night. But the Wind blew and the tempest roared in the Mountain exceedingly, and the trees of the wood blew down round about us, yet we received no harm—

And it was early in the morning when we Journeyed thence, and passed over the River Audaguskia, and went into one of the Villages of the Heathen—and from thence we Journeyed to the Side of the Great Water that was like unto a Sea, and abode that Night—

And when the morning was come we passed on by the side of that Mighty Water, and the Rocks were on the right hand, and the Waters on the left, and we passed over the Brook and Abode in Buffalo that Night.

Now it came to pass on the Morrow that we passed over the River, (even the Great River Niagara) into the Dominion of the great King which is called in the vernacular Tongue Canada) and the Brethren went on their way, but I journeyed on the side of the River toward the North, and the country was beautiful and well favoured, and had many goodly dwellings therein, and lo about midday I came to a certain Fortification nigh unto the Brook ([words “called in the vernacular Tongue” crossed out in MS] Chippaway) and I went into a Certain Inn and did eat Bread because I was an Hungred—

Now there was a Miracle nigh unto this place, and it was the wonderful works of him who Created the Heavens, and the Earth, the Seas and the Fountains of Water, and it was in my heart to go and behold the Miracle, and I went and looked, and saw the waters of the River, even the Great River Niagara, falling down Ninety and two Cubits; and I descended the Mountain (as tho’ it was the side of a wall) to the waters below the Cataract and the Rocks were mighty to behold.

Now there was an Island in the midst of the River above the Cataract and it divided the waters of the River, and half the Cataract was on this side the Island, and half on that side. And I walked under the Rocks, and the Waters poured down exceedingly, and there was a Great Mist went up and watered the face of the Earth round about, and it was like unto a Cloud, and I saw a Rainbow in the Cloud—And the rushing of the Waters were mighty and caused a great Wind underneath the Cataract and it blew the mist upon me like small rain, and wet me exceedingly, and the noise thereof was indeed as the Sound of many Waters.

Now when I beheld all these things I was like one astonished, and I mused thereon and said in my heart “the hand that made them is divine”—Ye Waters that come from afar with many a curve round Hills and Mountains, perpetually rolling down this

mighty Cataract, and steadily pressing towards the unfathomable deep, are emblematical of the Wisdom and excellency of the great author of Creation; Ye lofty Craggy Rocks that Surround mine head, and have sustained the Blast of many a thousand years, yet remain as Monuments of the the Dignity and power of your Supreme Architect, and declare that he who made you lives forever and ever: And thou Arching Bow that ornaments yon rising Cloud, echoes the language of praise to him who with unclouded Majesty presides over all his works, and displays his wisdom in fixing these in they appointed place—

And it came to pass after I had mused on all these things, that I went up from the River by the same way whither I went down, and the Countrey round about was beautiful and fruitful, and every Green thing did Flourish, because of the Mist that went up from the dashing of the waters and distilled as small rain upon them, and I returned by the same way which I came and lodg'd at a Certain Inn on the road that Night—

Now the morrow being the First day of the Week I went to the House of Asa (whose sirname was Schooly) and met with Josua, & Isaac, & Thomas and James, and also certain other Brethren that came from near the great City in the Land of the east, to visit the Children of Onas that were scattered too and fro in this Land. And it came to pass about the eleventh hour of the day that the congregation assembled together at the house of Asa, near fourscore Souls. And we gathered into the one place and sat down and worshiped, and Nathan the Seer (whose Sirname was Smith) stood up before the Congregation and did Spake unto them of the things that belong to their peace, and great Silence was in the Congregation & my heart was greatly rejoiced to see so many of the Children of Onas after my long sojourning in the Wilderness, among the Heathen.

And moreover when the Congregation departed, every one to their Own dwelling, I did eat Bread in the House of Asa, and parted with my Brethren and returned again towards the place of my sojourning in the Wilderness, and I passed again over the Great River and Abode in Buffalo that night, and Joseph (whose sirname was Ellicot did shew forth kindness unto me—

Now when the morning was come I departed thence and passed over the Brook, and Journeyed Along by the Side of the Great Water and in the evening of the day, I entered into the Village of Audaguskia and abode in the house of Jacob that Night. Now this Jacob was he of whom I have written afforetime and the days of his pilgrimage were one hundred twenty and one years according to his own declaration, and his strength continued to a Miracle; How be it his wife Elemausa was dead, and he spake unto me of many things that had happened in days of Old which are not written in this Book. Now I abode in the Village the next day because



Handsome Lake Preaching. Drawing by Roy Gabor.

it was not meet for me to go through the Wilderness alone, and I walked into the Cornfields that were nigh unto the Village, and the Heathen were labouring therein and rejoiced to see me when I told them I was one of the Children of Onas, for they desired that some of the Children of Onas should go and sojourn amongst them and it was them that wrote a petition unto us in days that are over and Gone—

Now when the morrow was come, early in the morning I arose and departed, and one of the Heathen went before me, and we Journeyed in the wilderness two days, and it came to pass on the evening of the Second day that I rested at the place of my sojourning in the land of the West, and the natives rejoiced to see me again for they feared I was gone with my Brethren to the Land of My Nativity—

Now it came to pass in the tenth month on the Seventh day of the month that Henery (whose Sirname was Simmons) our fellow traveler took his departure for the land of his Nativity, and after these days we gathered the produce of our Labour out of the field and had plentiful fruit of Increase, and the Heathen continued their kindness towards us and went out and slew of the Wild beasts of the Forrest and brought us meat in abundance to eat—

And it came to pass in these days that the inhabitants of Audauguskia assembled themselves together and wrote again unto us concerning the things which they desired us to do, and made known unto us their determination to hearken to our words and to do the things which we should appoint them and also that they had resolved to have money in store to buy Cattle and necessary things, and withal that they had determined to put away the accursed things from among them even the great evil of Strong drink—and moreover they returned thanks unto us and desired us to keep our minds strong toward them as at the first, and we read the writing, & considered the sayings thereof, and sent an answer unto them concerning the things which they had determined to do, and desired of them to be strong and courageous in their undertakings and press forward in every good word and work that so the might come to inherit the goods things of the Earth and eat the good of the Land, and look on their Fields their flocks and their [word “fruit” crossed out in MS] herds with contentment and pleasure. And it was in the twelvth month on the twenty ninth day of the month that we wrote the writing unto them.—

1800

Now the New year being come in the first month on the last day of the month I received letters from my kinspeople in the land of my Nativity and from the Great City and their was many sayings written therein, and it was made known unto me that

George³⁹ who in days of Old was Chief Ruler of the people of the Provinces was dead and his death was lamented sore in the Great City and thro' out all the Cities of the people of the provinces because his fame was great and his worthy acts was known among the Nations—And the Great Sanhedrim ceased from their Counselling, & put on their mourning apparel and all the Rulers and Counsellors in the Great City and those that were in public offices under the great Sanhedrim, did cease to execute Judgement in those days, and their countenance was Sad, and the voice of mourning was heard in the Streets, because the Champion of the people of the Provinces was dead.

Now it came to pass in the Second month that the people collected again to the Village of Cornplanter the Chief in order to worship and to offer sacrifice, and the continued in the one place many days after the sacrifice was accomplished, and Cornplanter the Chief spake many sayings in the ears of the people desiring them to put away the accursed thing from among them even the great evil of strong drink—and moreover said unto them that the years of his life were many and the days were approaching wherein he must go the way of all the Earth, and therefore he should cease to rule the People, and desired them to appoint rulers over them, and Chiefs in whom they could confide that should go in and out wisely before them—howbeit they regarded not his speech neither acted according to his counsel and the thing grieved him exceedingly.

And moreover it came to pass in these days that the Brother of Cornplanter the Chief (whose name in the Seneca Tongue is Connudiu⁴⁰) was again in a trance and saith he was caught up as it were into heaven and talked with Angels who spake unto him concerning his people and concerning their doings, and declared unto him that which was right for them to do, and desired him to have the Vision written in a Book, that they might observe it for statutes and Ordinances and keep it in remembrance from Generation to Generation. And on a certain day the rulers and counsellors of the people collected together and the called me to the Village of Cornplanter the Chief, and Connudiu declared the Vision before the people and the interpretation thereof was made known unto me and I wrote all the saying thereof in a Book—And after I had written these things they said unto me “Now declare unto us thy opinion of that which thou hast written and thy Judgement of the Vision whether it be true or whether it be false—and not being willing openly to offend them (for they had great confidence in the vision) I answered and said I could not tell—nevertheless I told them I would meditate thereon and spake

³⁹ I.e., George Washington.

⁴⁰ I.e., Handsome Lake.

unto them concerning it at another time, and therefore the Council ended at that time—Howbeit after Certain days Cornplanter the Chief and others of his people came unto our dwelling and asked me again concerning the matter, of which I answered them warily, and forasmuch as I could not say the Vision was false, neither could I tell them that it was true, but when I enquired more particularly concerning the matter & the manner of the Vision, and perceived that the sayings were calculated to turn them from the evil of their ways, I told them they would do well to observe the sayings and the answer pleased Cornplanter the Chief—

And moreover it came to pass in the third month on the five and twentieth day of the month that I received letters from my kinspeople in the land of my nativity, and we also received letters from the Judges of the Congregation in the Great City and the sayings thereof greatly rejoiced us—

And again it came to pass in these days that Cornplanter the Chief and the warriors and Counsellors of the people went into the North by the side of the great waters and pitched near unto the Brook which is called in the Seneca Tongue Tusyea⁴¹ and the Heathen from the east and from the Villages round about were gathered unto that place, and Israel (whose surname was Chapin⁴² and Jasper the Interpreter⁴³ was also there, and there was much counseling among them—And the continued in the one place many days, and Cornplanter the Chief spake unto them concerning the times and the affairs of the nation, and of the accursed thing even strong drink, wherewith many of them were drunken, and of the many abominations it wrought in the Earth, and moreover he spake unto them saying—“behold there are rumors of war in the earth, now choose ye whom ye will serve, whether the Great Sanhedrim that sitteth in the Great City, and the rulers of the people of the Provinces and call them your Fathers who will be a wall of Defence unto you and protect you in the time of Danger—and furthermore ye know that the lot of our inheritance even the money which we purchased with our Land is in the hands of the great San-Hedrim of which we receive usury year by year, and in the day that we revolt against the people of the Provinces it shall no more be ours—and when these sayings were ended the people communed together concerning the matter, and there was a division among the people and the warriors and counsellors of Cornplanter the Chief stood by him, and the inhabitants of Audauguskia cleave unto him. But the rulers of the people that dwelt near the Brook Tusyea and the Inhabitants of the villages over towards the Sunriseing revolted and said, “we will not Call

⁴¹ Buffalo Creek.

⁴² General Israel Chapin lived at Canandaigua and was the Federal Superintendent of Indian Affairs for the Six Nations.

⁴³ Jasper Parrish, the Indian interpreter and land agent.



The Great Feather Dance. Drawing by Roy Gabor.

the Great Sanhedrim our Father, nor serve the people of the provinces, Neither will we rise up against them but we will be a free people and cleave unto our Brethren that are afar off in the Land of the west—”

Now Cornplanter the chief was sorely displeased at their words, and he spake yet again unto them saying “choose ye whom ye will for your Fathers, but I even I and the inhabitants of Audauguskia, will cleave unto the People of the Provinces, and call the Great Sanhedrim our Father, and the shall be our protection, and Cornplanter the Chief and his people returned to their own dwellings and wrote Letters to the Great Sanhedrim concerning the matter—

Now when Cornplanter the Chief was in the North he received money which the people of the Provinces gave unto them year by year, and he gathered his people together and divided the money among them each one according to his lot, and the number of his family, and when the money was divided behold there was yet a residue remaining in the hands of Cornplanter the Chief, and he called us among the people and said unto us, forasmuch as ye have been these many days among us and shewed kindness unto us, and given us much of your substance, and asked nothing at our hands, we have therefore reserved a portion of the Lot of our inheritance for you now accept it at our hands, and go buy for yourselves meat of the wild beasts of the Forrest and eat in abundance, and buy for yourselves Clothing and whatsoever seemeth good unto you—But we answered and said unto them that we came to sojourn among them in order to Learn them our ways, that they might cease pursueing after the wild beasts of the Forrest, and come to be tillers of ground, and keepers of flocks, and of all that we gave unto them we required nothing at their hands neither had we lacked anything either in food or raiment since we came to sojourn in the Land—But Cornplanter the Chief answered and said unto us, Brethren this we have reserved in store for you, and it shall be yours therefore accept it of us, and forasmuch as the pressed us exceedingly we accepted it, and the gave unto us twenty pieces of Silver* howbeit, we determined to return the vallue thereof unto them again—

And it came to pass in the fifth month on the five and twentieth day of the month early in the morning that Jacob whose sirname was Taylor and Jonathan whose sirname was Thomas came unto our dwelling—Now these were some of the Children of Onas and came from the Great City in order to sojourn among the heathen and we were greatly rejoiced and received them with open hearts, and they brought letters from my kinspeople saying “Now it is many days since the time of thy departure from among us and there are others of the Children of Onas gone to sojourn in

*Twenty dollars [Jackson's note in MS.].

the Land of the Heathen paradvventure thou wilt come again unto thy kindred & people and we shall rejoice together as in days of Old and as in former years—

Now as Jacob and Jonathan traveled in the wilderness the called to see the inhabitants of Audauguskia, and the rulers of the people spake kindly unto them saying, our hearts are rejoiced to see you and we wish you to be overseers over us—Now the inhabitants of Audauguskia had money in store to build a sawmill for their Nation—And it came to pass in the Sixth month on the 8th day of the month that they sent a writeing unto us saying, “the people whom we have hired to do the work for us, are comeing nigh at hand, if ye will come and befriend us at this time and see that they deal honesly with us it will greatly rejoice us—

Then Jacob said unto me “tarry with us yet a few days and we will go unto the inhabitants of Audauguskia” and we mused thereon in the night season, and it came to pass that we arose early in the morning on the second day of the week, and saddled our horses and traveled on thro’ the wilderness till near the going down of the Sun and we came to the top of a mountain and found thereon a tent of the natives of the Land, and a fire kindled beside it but no inhabitants therein, and forasmuch as the day was far spent, we remained that night—And when the morning was come we arose and journeyed forward and passed over the River Audauguskia and entered into the villages night unto the River, and the people rejoiced to see us and gave unto us to eat—Now the cunning Artificer and the hewers of wood, were already come even from a far countrey, to do the works of the handy-workman, and the inhabitants of Audauguskia desired of us to give our Judgement concerning the matter and the carrying of the work—of all which we spake unto them according to our knowledge and understanding—

Now we sojourned two days in the villages of Audauguskia and viewed the countrey round about, and saw that it was a goodly Land, beautiful and well favoured—And when the time of our departure drew nigh the rulers of the people, and the counsellors gathered together and we opened our mouths and spake unto them concerning the things which we came about, and of that which we desired them to do—even to persevere in their undertakeings to become husbandmen & keepers of flocks of [words “like the white inhabitants of the land” crossed out in MS], and not to let their hearts fail, nor their hands grow weary untill the came to enjoy the good of the Land—And moreover I said unto them that the days of my departure from the Land of the west was drawing nigh, and would to shortly go unto the Great City where I should speak unto the Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas concerning them—And the Rulers of the people answered and said they were rejoiced in their hearts to see us, and thankful

to the great spirit above for preserving a day without Clouds for us to meet together, and that he has put it into our hearts to regard the distressed situation of our Brethren—Now be it known unto you that we are determined to listen to your words, and do the things ye have spoken unto us—yea we purpose in our hearts to lay our shoulders to the work & enclose fields, and become husbandmen & vinedressers, & keepers of flocks and of herds that so we may come to enjoy the good of the Land—for we see that it is no small matter that our women should do all the Labour of the field, and therefore are we determined to give them assistance—And moreover we are determined to put away the accursed thing from among us, even the great evil of strong drink—yea we have put it away already and there is none that can lay any evil to our charge—nevertheless we are not grieved at your words, when you speak unto us concerning our weakness, nay verily, our young men rejoice, and the maidens hearts are glad at the words of the Children of Onas for they say our hands will be made Stronger, and hereby shall we overcome our weaknesses and great evils—Now declare it unto the Judges of the Congregation of the Children of Onas in the Great City, that our hearts are thankful for the kindness which you have shewn unto us, and we desire you to remember our distressed situation if peradventure you will open the eyes of our Children behold we are all Ignorant, we have no knowledge and hereby are we greatly defrauded of the Lot of our Inheritance, for the Inhabitants round about will not deal honestly with us. Now be it known unto you that if ye continue to shew kindness unto us at the beginning and send teachers among us, we have reserved a piece of land for them to sit down upon and it shall be theirs while they remain thereon—And many other sayings did they testify unto us at that time and the interpretation thereof was made known unto us—Now it came to pass about midday that all the sayings were ended, and we journeyed thence and returned by the same way whither we came, and lo on the evening of the Second day we arrived at our dwelling again—

And moreover it came to pass on the seventh day of the week that we gathered together at the village of Cornplanter the Chief, and the Rulers and counsellors, and many of the people were gathered unto us—

Now Jacob and Jonathan had a writing from the Judges of the Congregation in the Great City and the writing was read unto the people, and the interpretation thereof made known unto them, and the sayings rejoiced the people, for the said the were glad and the great Spirit above was well pleased with the children of Onas being among them.

And for as much as I purposed in my heart to return again to the Land of my Nativity I spake in the ears of the people saying

Lo! I have been with you these many days, even these two years have I sojourned among you endeavouring to shew you the way in which you ought to walk, behold now I go again to my kindred and people in the Land of the east, and may it fare well with you in time to come, that you may be a happy people and come to enjoy the good of the Land—behold here are others of the Children of Onas come from the Land of the east to Sojourn among you, they are true men they are not Spies—open your ears and listen to what the say.

Now concerning the present that you gave unto us in days that are past and gone we will add thereunto of our own money and buy Oxen and give unto you—

Now behold it is yet three days ere I leave your Country and the wilderness is great between this and the Land of my nativity, see ye to it whether any of you will accompany me on the way—

And many other sayings did we testify unto them, and Cornplanter the Chief answered all the sayings and said he would speak unto me again before my departure, and after these things the people said Amen, and we returned to our own dwelling—

And after three days were expired, on the Seventeenth day of the month early in the morning came Cornplanter the Chief and many of the Inhabitants round about, unto our dwelling—And Cornplanter the Chief spake many things unto me because the time of my departure was drawing nigh—and moreover he returned thanks to my kindred and people, and to the Judges of the congregation of the Children [of] Onas and he wished my Journey might be prosperous to the Land of my Nativity—Now many of the Women and the Children were gathered unto me and their countenances were sad, saying we Shall henceforth see thee no more—Howbeit after we [word “I” crossed out in MS] had eaten Bread, I arose and departed, and three of the Heathen, and Joel my fellow traveler accompanied me on the way—Now we passed up the River even the River Oheyu a days Journey, and when the evening approached there was no house nigh unto us, and we made a small tent and remained that night—

And when the morning was come we departed thence and passed on the Waters of the River untill we came to a certain Creek called in the Seneca Tongue Owayu,⁴⁴ and we put in at the Creeks mouth and went up a small distance untill we came to the house of Francis where surname was king, where we abode that night even threescore miles from my habitation in the Land of the west—Now I determined to pass from hence on horseback and behold there was a waste howling wilderness to pass thro’ even one hundred and twenty miles—Howbeit when the morning was come I bid adieu to Joel my fellow traveler, and the heathen that accom-

⁴⁴ “Owayu Creek” flows into the Allegheny about five miles above Olean.

panied me thither, & betook myself into the wilderness, and a pilot went before me to direct me on the way—And it came to pass as we journeyed eastward in the afternoon of the day that we passed over two mountains and when the evening was come we came to a certain brook by the way side, and it was one of the waters of the Oheyu even the head waters thereof and we lay down by the Side of the Water and abode that night—And early in the morning ere the Sun was risen upon the earth, we arose and Journeyed forward, and passed over an exceeding high mountain towards the Sun rising, and more over the Top there of reached above all the mountains of the province, because it divided the waters of the north from the waters of the South—nay is not the heads of the River even the river Oheyu that runneth into the Land of the West in this mountain, and the river that runneth to the north into the great waters, and the River that runneth towards the Sunriseing—and the waters of the Great River even the River Cowwanewineinu⁴⁵ that runneth towards the South countrey are the not all in this mountain; and it came to pass when we had descended the mountain that we came to one of the waters that runeth towards the River of the South, and passed down by the side of the water and behold we met pilgrims on the way in the wilderness traveling towards the Land of the west, and their wives and their little ones were with them, and driveing cattle before them. And the Spake unto me and said we have been Journeying these many days in the Wilderness untill we have become scant of bread and we pity our little ones least they should fall by the way, and more over we are going into a far Countrey, even to a strange Land whither we know not—knowest thou the Land whither we are going or hast thou knowledge of the way thither? And I answered and said, yea verily I know it, and the difficulty of the way thither I know—the Land whither you are going is a goodly Land and a well watered Countrey and the Sugar tree and the walnut tree does Grow therein in abundance—nevertheless the Land is afar off, it is yet many days ere you reach the end of the Journey therefore be of good Cheer and Let not your hearts fail you for lack of Bread, for behold the wild beasts of the forrest are in abundance—arise Slay and eat, and give unto your little ones that they perish not—and lo while I yet spake there came an Elk Deer from the mountain and passed near the place, & the Dogs chased him exceedingly but the caught him not—And after these things I passed on by the side of the water which in the vernacular Tongue is called (pine Creek) but in the Seneca Tongue I called it (kionoowe) because it runneth Swiftly—and when the day was far spent I came unto a certain place where the pilgrims which passed by that way had encamped, and Lay me down to sleep.

⁴⁵ Susquehanna River.

And when the morning was come I awoke and journeyed forward about the space of forty and eight furlongs and came to a place where two waters met, and behold there was a house and dwellers therein of the white inhabitants of the Land, and the gave unto me to eat; now the waters turned from thence towards the South Countrey and I passed down the side of the waters and the mountains were on the right hand on on the left even great and mighty without inhabitants neither had the foot of man ever trod thereon, for their approach was inaccessible even a habitation of Owls, and dens of the fierce Animals of the wood, where the Raven breeds her young, and the Eagle soars aloft when she lifts her wings on high—And I lift up my eyes and looked and beheld on the top of one of the mountains an Animal white as Snow which appeared beautiful to the eye, but I knew not the name, neither the nature of the Animal—And when I had journeyed about the space of a hundred forty and four furlongs the sun was setting, & I abode in a certain house by the water side that night—And it came to pass that I journeyed on the morrow untill the twilight of the evening and came near unto the Creeks mouth by the Side of the River even the Great River Cowwanewaneinu, and my heart was glad because I was yet out of the wilderness after six days Journey—now this was a goodly Land and a fertile Countrey and had many dwellers therein and I abode in a Certain Inn on the road that night.

And when the morning was come I journeyed forward, and passed thro' the Villages of the Land, and when the Sun was Setting I came into the Land of the children of Onas nigh unto a place called Muncy—and entered into the house of W^m whose sirname was Ellis and abode that night—Now this William was a wealthy man and had great possessions of houses and Lands and of much Cattle, and his wife was a virtuous woman—And I journeyed thence on the morrow untill near the going down of the Sun, and passed over one of the waters of the Great River that cometh down from the North Countrey and entered into a village called in the vernacular Tongue Catawessy, and abode that night—And I traveled from thence two days Journey towards the South Countrey over the mountains the hills and the Valleys—And lo as I journey along by the side of the River on the evening of the second day I entered into a [word “certain” crossed out in MS] the village [words “called in the vernacular Tongue” crossed out in MS] Pottsgrove. Now ere I came nigh unto the Village a certain man declared unto me that Ruth Anna whose sirname was Rutter the speaker in the Congregation of the people had made covenant with Jacob a great man of the South who was also a speaker among the Children on Onas, and even this day the marriage was consumated in the congregation of the people.

And I hasted and came down to the village and alighted at a

certain Inn, and lo while I yet talked with the keeper of the Inn— One of the Children of Jacob came unto me and said from whence comest thou? Art thou returning from amongst a people of a Strange Language and going to the Land of thy nativity again—and I answered and said I am! is my people yet alive and fareth it well with them, and he spake unto me again and said all was well—so I tarried not but went on rejoicing for Jacob & his people were the kindred of my people—And when I came to the house of the wedding I was filled with Joy, and said that it was a true report which I had heard that Jacob my kinsman had taken Ruth anna to Wife, and that she was espoused unto him the Selfsame day. and while I tarried in this place I partook of the marriage supper—

Now I abode in the village this night and journeyed thence on the morrow and passed thro' the Land of the Children of Onas, and the fields were white already unto harvest, and it came to pass on the evening of the Second day that I reached my Fathers house, and my kinspeople were gathered unto me rejoicing because the days of my sojourning in the wilderness were many even two full years and upwards.

Now the rest of the acts which the Children of Onas did in the Land of the west and among a people of a strange language, of the kindness which the shewed unto them, of the fields which they have enclosed, and the houses which they have builded, are the not written in the Book of Joel the Scribe and among the writings of Henery the Simmonnite.⁴⁶

Finis

THE VISIONS OF CONNUDIU OR CORN-PLANTERS BROTHER¹⁷

Sixth month 15th 1799

As I stood without in the forenoon of the day I saw three men standing by the house who appeard Like angels I then fainted

⁴⁶ Joel Swayne's journal or other writing has not yet come to light. Henry Simmons' journal to the Senecas, 1798-1799, is owned by Robert S. Ewing of West Grove, Pa., who permitted Merle H. Deardorff to have a copy made and deposited in the transcript collection of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission in Harrisburg.

¹⁷ This manuscript, also in Halliday Jackson's hand, was found in a separate booklet owned by the Chester County Historical Society ("Indians, Halliday Jackson Collection, MS. Box"). The booklet bears the title, "Indian Speeches" on the outside cover. On the inside cover in Jackson's hand is the legend, "Halliday Jackson's Book Wrote at Genesinguh 2nd mo 1800" and (in a different but old hand) "copied from a manuscript in the hands of the Corn planter." The Visions occupy pages 53 to 61 inclusive, and succeed a series of copies of speeches and correspondence with the Indians. The first two visions recorded here (dates 15 June and 8 August respectively) follow almost word for word the notes made by Henry Simmons in his journal. Since Simmons was at Jenuchshadago at the time, Jackson's version is evidently based on Simmons'. As Jackson indicates in his short history, however, Simmons had gone home before Handsome Lake had his third vision (related in council 2 March 1800), and Jackson himself wrote it down. The parallel passages from Simmons are reproduced in an appendix.

and fell Gently to the Ground without being any Sick. The men had green bushes in their hands and on them were different kinds of Berries—The invited me to take some and Eat and said they would help me of my Illness, and that I would live to see such Berries ripe this Summer, & I thought & took a Berry off each mans Bush—

They told me there was four of them but one was not yet come whom I thought was the Great Spirit whom the said was much displeased with the Indians getting Drunk and committing other Gross evils which many of them were guilty of—But me the did not Charge with any thing except sometimes getting drunk, but as I had been sick a long while and thought more upon the great Spirit I was much preserved therefrom, and if I got well I must not take to it again, for the great Spirit knew not only what people was always doing but even their very thoughts, and the said there was some very bad people among us who would pison others but one of them was lately killed. Yet there still lived one man in our Village who would do evil to others.

On the 8th of the 8th month I was again in a Trance for about 7 or 8 hours—I knew not how I went out of the world but suddenly perceived a guide going before me who appear'd to have a Bow and one Arrow in his hand and was dressed in a clear Sky Colour.

My Guide told me to Look forward and when I looked I saw my own Son who had been dead several years and Cornplanters daughter who died in the last winter coming to meet us and the were dressed in the same manner as the Guide—After embracing each other we turned aside and sat down Together, when the Daughter expressed her sorrow in frequent hearing her Father and his Son Henery disputing together some times so high as to get very angry—her Brother thought he knew more than his Father and would not take his advice but would have his own way which was very wrong. The guide then told her to stop and he would Speak to the matter & said it was true what she had said about her Brother abuseing her Father for he ought to obey him as Long as he lives—My own Son told me he was concerned about me and sorry that I had suffered so much and that my other son who was still liveing had taken so little care of me but would always go out of the way when I got worse for fear of haveing some Trouble. He thought he had no sence in so doing and said every Son ought to do good to their Father—The Guide also Told me he was very Glad I had told the Truth to my people of what the three men had told me sometime before—he said the came in a hurry and the reason of that was on account of my Sickness and long Suffering.

The Guide told me the thre men had invited me to eat of their berries which the had in their hands and that would help me

and that I would live to see such Berries ripe this Summer which I had saw come to pass—

and the moreover mentioned two people who lived in our village that would hurt others, but one was lately killed, the other was still liveing—He then told me of my failing which was that of getting drunk some time back, but as I had declind that practice and concluded if I got well to do so no more the would forgive me, and I must also quit all kinds of frolicking and danceing except the worship dance for that was right as we did not make use of any Spirits at that time—

The guide told me it was very often the case that people would take too much strong drink—it was the Great Spirrit that made it to use, but he did not make it to hurt people and Indians would not keep [word “quit” crossed out in MS] from injureing themselves greatly by it, and if the still continued to get drunk, hurt themselves and abuse others the need not expect to come to that happy place—He told me to Look round toward the River which I did and saw many Cannoes loaded with kegs of Whisky and also saw an Ugly person going about among them makeing all the mischief he could among the Indians which the Guide told me was the Devil—He also told me people often dreamt dreams and some times their dreams were true from the Great Spirit but the would not believe it was from him but from the Devil, and when the devil had told them something the have concluded it was from the Great Spirit & that pleas'd the Devil being thought the Greatest and most honoured haveing most people on his side.

The Guide told me that white people were come into our Towns to Instruct our Children and that was right if we could all agree to it but many of them were not willing to forsake their old habits of Liveing, well that might be right too—then the most not drink Whisky for that belonged to White people and was not made for Indians—

He said that many folks thinks the Great Spirit knows not what people are always doing but he saw and knew all things and nothing was hid from him—He then told me of a visitation of Sickness (which he was Sorry for) would shortly approach their village unless the people amended their ways and thought more upon the great Spirit who might then perhaps see cause to remove it, and that we must then collect to worship and cook a White Dog and every one eat thereof as a preventative against the Sickness—The Guide told me I would soon be well if my people took care of me and gave me medicin—He then told me to return and that I should not see them any more untill I died, and perhaps not then unless I done that which was wright and good as Long as I lived, which would be untill one half of the hairs on my head was turned Grey then I must Leave the world & never return any more—

Another vision which he related in Council the 2nd of 3rd mo 1800

On the fifth of Second last I fainted away and was breathless for about the space of an hour during which time I saw those three men or Angels which I saw and convers'd with last Summer who Spake and told me what I shall now relate

These men told one half of my life belonged to me and the Other half to my Family and that I must serve my family in this world and do whatever pleased them—and when my time comes to be taken out of the World I must go with them to Joy. They said the had told me last Summer that two things were very bad which was for the Indians to Poison one another and their drinking so much Whisky, and the ask'd me how the Indians went on now whether they had quit those bad ways or not—I answered I could not tell how they went on or whether they had quit those bad practices or not—The told me the Great Spirit thought a Great pity of the Indians that they had now but little Land left—that the could now go out and Look over all the Land the possessed—He was very Sorry the White people had taken away so much of their Land and is afraid the will impose upon the poor Indians because the White people have learning they they think they have the mind of the Great Spirit in their Books, and he wishes the Indians to have these things written in a Book that the may keep them in remembrance—He thinks a great Pity that the Indians should lose all their Land—that their Children and generations to come should have no land to Sit down upon—and he wishes the Young Children to be kept to good Language and be brought up in it that they might not depart from it when the get old—The also told me the Great Spirit said all the Chiefs of the Six nations should put their minds together and all be of one mind and that Cornplanter should Go once more to all their Towns and try to get the Six nations to be of one mind—The Great Spirit said his mind was very much troubled at this time it had never been so before—He told me I must ask the Indians who of them likes to See the Great Spirit—and who of them likes to go from one place to another and do no good—The told me the Great Spirit said the Indians must keep up their Old form of worship four days at a time once in the Year and must never quit it, and said their Minister sometimes concluded to quit it because the people would not mind him and he sometimes took too much strong drink—But the said if he continued to keep up their Worship and try'd to do better He would Go to rest when he died—

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APPENDIX

HENRY SIMMONS' VERSION OF THE VISIONS⁴⁸

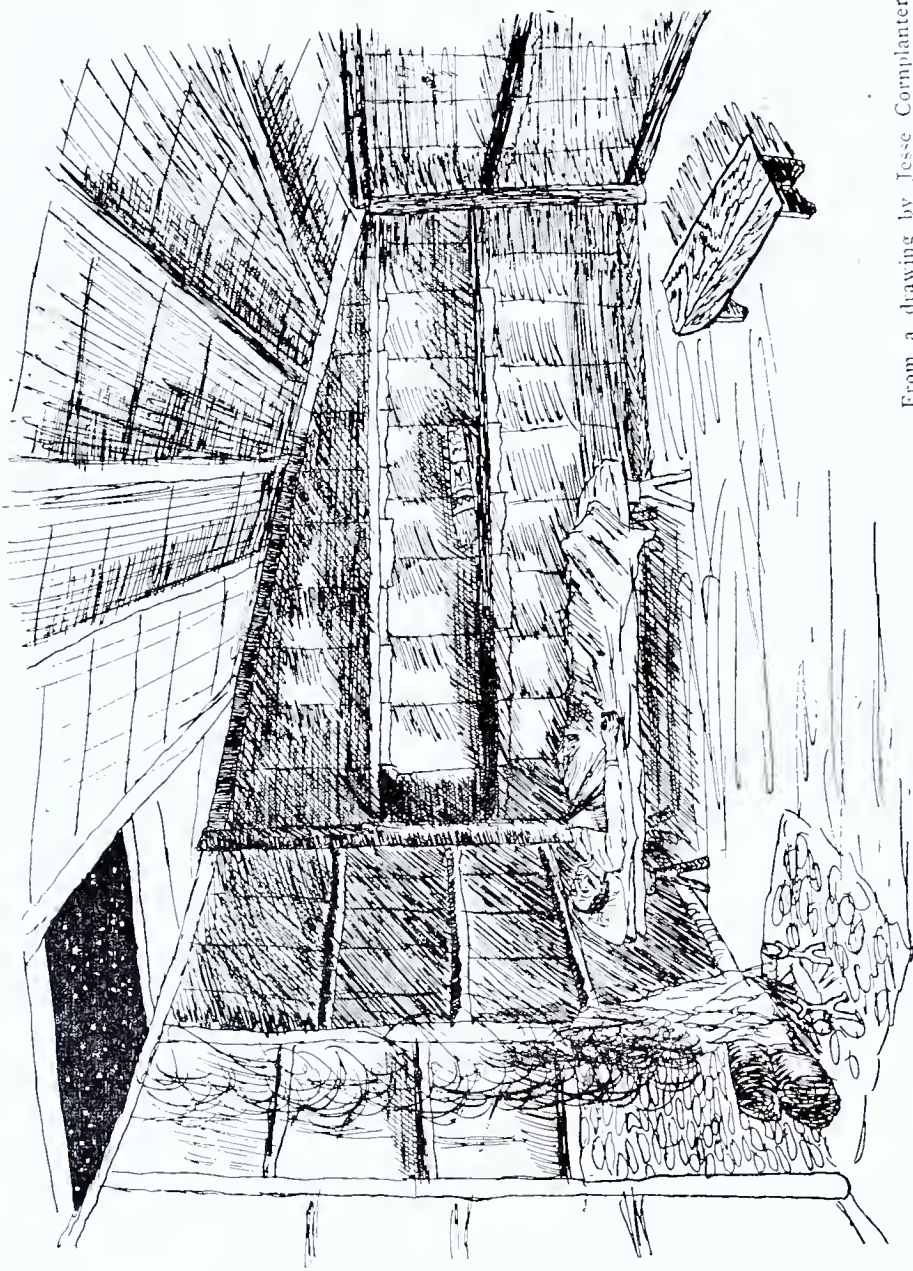
Sixth Month 15th. the Cornplanter being from home about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a mile, where he had men employ'd to build him a house, and where we were engaged in Erecting a Schoolhouse, an express came to him that his Brother or Step Brother was dying, (who had been on the decline of Life for several years) he straitway went, and found a number of his people conven'd and his Brother laying breathless for the Space of half an hour, but in about 2 hours after he came to himself again, and informed his Brother how he was and what he had seen, which was thus, as he lay or sat in the house he heard some body call to him out of the house, he immediately arose and went out, his daughter seeing him askt where he was going he told her he would soon be back, and as he stood without, he saw three men by the side of the house, he then fainted and fell gently to the ground without being any Sick, the men had Bushes in their hands with berries on them, of different kinds, who invited him to take some and eat, and they would help him, and that he would Live to see such like berries ripe he thought he took one berry off of each mans bush this Summer. They told him the great Spirit was much displeased with his People's getting drunk, and other gross Evils which they were guilty of, but as to himself they could not charge him with any thing, except sometimes getting drunk, but as he had been Sick a great while, he had thought more upon the great Spirit, and was preserved from drinking Strong drink to excess, and if he got well he must not take to it again for the great Spirit knew (not only what people where always doing) but also their thoughts, and that there was some very bad ones among them, who would poison others, but one of them lately killed, yet there remained one like her who was a man. He requested his brother, to Call his People in Council, and tell them what he had said to him, and if they had any Dried Berries amongst them, he wished all in the Council might take if it was but one apiece, which was done accordingly the same day, where myself and Companion (Viz) Joel Swayn, attended, at the request of Cornplanter when a large number of them assembled with shorter notice than ever I had seen them before, men Women & Children, many of whom appear'd Solid and weighty, wherein I felt the love of God flowing powerfully amongst us, and near the close had to communicate some Council to them, which was (I believe well accepted) the old Chiefs sister came to us after the Council was over, and thanked me for what I had said to them.

Note: The three persons afforesaid told him there was four of them, but one did not come, expecting to come to see him some time hence. And he often told his Brother Cornplanter, he expected that person would soon come. As he continued in a poor state of Health for many Weeks after, One night he Drempt the absent person came (who appear'd like the great Spirit) and askt him if he did not remember the three men who came to him some time before, and told him there was four of them altogether, but one of them

⁴⁸ Henry Simmons' journal, kept at Jenuchshadago, in 1798 and 1799, is the source from which the following extracts are taken. See note 46 above.

staid behind, and intended to come some time after, and he was the very one, now come to take him along, if he was willing to go as he pitied him seeing he had suffered very much; He did not give him any answer, whether he would go with him or not, but in the morning when he awoke he said he would go and put on his best clothes, then wished to see his Brother, and was affraid he should not get to see him before he would be gone, as he was some distance off, a messenger went immediately to inform his brother thereof, who when he came, attended pretty steadily with him through the course of the day, and about evening he fainted away, which held him but for a short Space of time, after recovering he told his Brother, he must go, but not forever he thought, as long as he and many more of his people was not willing to let him go, and that Man or Spirit was free to let him return, after going some distance with him. He told his Brother not to put any more clothes on him, or move him, if he did go, Soon after said he was now going, and he expected to return, but thought he should go so far as to see his Son who had been dead several years, and his brothers Daughter who had been dead about Seven months.

He then fainted or fell into a Trance in which posture he remained about Seven hours, his Legs & arms were cold, his body warm but breathless, he knew not how he went out of the World, but soon perceived a guide going before him, who appear'd to have a Bow & one Arrow, and was dressed in a Clear Sky couler, his guide told him to look forward, when he did, behold the two deceased ones before noted, was coming to meet them, dressed in the manner of his Guide, and after embracing each other, they turned aside to sit down to converse together wherein the Daughter exprest her sorrow, in frequent hearing her father (viz) Cornplanter and brother Henry disputing together some times so high as to get very angry at each other, her brother thinking he knew more than his father, and would not take his advice, but must have his own way, which was very wrong, the guide then told her to stop, He would speak, and said it was true what She said about her brother abusing his Father, for he ought to obey him, as long as he lives. The young man then addressed his Father in this way, being concerned that he had suffered so much and that his own Son then living had taken so little care of him, but would go out of the way when his father grew worse for fear of having some trouble, he thought he had no Sense in so doing. Guide, said every Son ought to do good for their father further said, he was glad he had told the truth to his people of what the three men had said to him some time before. they then told him they had come in a hurry, and the reason of that was, on account of his Sickness & long suffering and he had thought much of the great Spirit, who knew not only what people was doing but also their thoughts, Guide said to him, the three men invited him to eat of their Berries which would help him, and that he would live to see such berries ripe the ensuing Summer, which he saw had come pass. and that their was two people who had lived in their Town who was disposed to hurt others. but one was now dead, the other yet living. They mentioned one fault they had against him, that of getting Drunk time back, but as he had declined it, and concluded if he got well to do so no more;



The Vision of Handsome Lake. Drawing by Jesse Cornplanter.
From a drawing by Jesse Cornplanter

they would forgive him, and he must quit all kinds of frolicks & dancing, except their Worship dance, for that was right, as they did not make use of any Liquor at the time Etc.

Guide, told him it was very often the case that people were apt to take too much Strong drink, it's the great Spirit who made it to use but did not make it to hurt people and the Indians did not keep from injuring themselves greatly by it, and if they do still get drunk, abuse themselves and

injure others they need not expect to come to that happy place. Guide told him to look around towards the river, which he did, and saw many canoes loaded with Kegs of Whiskey, and also saw an ugly fellow whom the guide told him was the D^l. going about very busy doing and making all the noise and mischief he could amongst the people. Guid—Told him they often drempt, and some times their dreams were true from the great Spirit; but they would not believe it was from him, but from the Devil, and when the D^l. have told them something, they have concluded it was the great Spirit, and that pleases the D^l. he being thought the greatest and most honored, having the most people on his side.

Further told him, that White people were come into their Towns to instruct their Children, and that is right if they can all agree to it, but many of them are not willing, but will keep to their old habits of living, well that may be right too, but if they do they must not drink Wisky for that belongs to white People, and was not made for Indians.

Guide, said many people thinks the great Spirit knows not what they are doing of, but He sees & knows all things and nothing is hid from Him.

Guide mentioned one circumstance which he was Sorry for, that was, their would be Shortly great sickness in their Village, unless they did amend their way, and think more upon the great Spirit, who might then perhaps see cause to remove it. And that his people must collect together in Worship, and Cook a white Dog and every one eat thereof, as a preventative against the Sickness.

Guide, told him he might soon get well if his people took care of him & gave him Medicine. Then told him to return; and that he would not see them any more untill he Died, and perhaps not then, except he did that which was right & good as long as he lived, which would be untill the hair on his head was about half gray, then he must leave the World, and never return any more.

After his Brother heard those Sayings he called a Council the same evening, and sent his Son for me to attend in the morning which I did, and heard them rehearse the matter, after which they requested me to tell them whether I believed it to be true. I told them there had been Instances of the same kind amongst White people even of the Quakers, falling into a Trance, and saw both the good place, and bad place, and seen many Wonderful sights, which I did believe. And told them I could see no reason why it should not be the case with them, as we are all of one Flesh & Blood made by the great Spirit; although there appeared no reason in my view why it should not be true, yet perhaps, as there was so much of it, the man might not have recollected so as to tell it exact as he seen or heard it. more I said, to the same perport, and they appear'd satisfied.

The afternoon of the same day they prepar'd a white Dog to eat, and burnt his Skin to ashes During which time it was burning a number of them Circled around the Fire, Singing Shouting & dancing greatly; after which they all partook of their Delicious dish, of Dog Meat Etc. The morning following I went to Cornplanters in order to make a note of the Sick Man sayings (who had then much recover'd of his sickness) at the same time the

old Chief said he liked some ways of the white people very well, and some ways of the Indians also, and he thought it would take some length of time, to lead them out of all their own Customs, & as to their Worship Dance which they hold twice a year, they intended to keep it up, as they could not read, they knew of no other way of Worshipping the great Spirit, if they declined that they would have no manner of Worship at all. further said it was the white people who kill'd our Saviour how he had heard about our Saviour I know not, but it seems he had. I told him it was the Jews, who Crucify'd or kill'd Him, and whether they were white, red, or black or what couler they were of I knew not, neither did I know but Indians were their descendants; for as many of their habits were Semilar to the Jews, in former days.

Yet nevertheless, I told him we were all still, Crucifying & killing Him, while we were doing Wickedly. He said that was very true, very true. Several other Indians being present.

Thus matters ended at that time.

